















LEADING FIGURES  
IN  
EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY

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## P R E F A C E

THERE are many people who, while genuinely interested in history, have never, either from want of time or opportunity, read a consecutive history of Europe. They have a general idea of certain periods like the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution. With these epochs they connect the names of certain great men which are practically on everybody's lips: but, when they come to think about it, they find they have a very shadowy idea of their lives and characters.

It was suggested to me that here lay a want which might be supplied by means of a book containing a series of biographies which more or less covered the whole of European history.

Consequently, in writing this book my object has been to present to the general reader, and to the student busily engaged with other subjects, a succession of sketches of the leading figures of the past, illustrating the growth of ideas and principles which have contributed to form present-day Europe.

Many of these names, such as Charlemagne, Luther and Napoleon, are household words. Others, like Richard the Fearless and Charles iv., are barely known save to students. These latter have been introduced because they are typical of periods of decadence or of quiet growth which, in their own way, are quite as important in the life of the European family as the more stirring times of revolution and war. Many great names are missing because their lives were more or less contemporary with those of others whom I have chosen ; or because, belonging to English history, they were excluded from the scope of this work.

I have made no reference to authorities, because this is intended to be a popular and not a learned book. Those who desire to read wider biographies of my heroes should consult either 'The Heroes of the Nations Series' or 'The Foreign Statesmen Series.' For the general purpose of an introduction to European History there are *Periods of European History*, *The Cambridge Modern History*, and a most excellent work in French by Lavisse et Rambeaud. All these works contain bibliographies for deeper research.

The reader will find that this book commences with a slight sketch of the history of Europe from



the time of the Roman Empire to Charlemagne; and that each of the succeeding chapters contains the life of a hero. The first few pages are occupied in showing his connection with the past, and the last few in summing up what he had done for the age in which he lived.

I hope I have said enough to make it clear to the reader what he should expect in this work. It remains for me to thank Captain A. J. Campbell of Bishopstawton and Mr. W. N. Weech, Headmaster of Sedberg, for their great kindness and assistance, also Mr. H. G. Stow of Braunton, for reading my proofs.

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION: EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE . . . . .	I
CHARLEMAGNE: THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE OF THE WEST . . . . .	15
RICHARD THE FEARLESS: THE WEAKNESS OF THE EMPIRE AND THE GROWTH OF FEUDALISM .	39
HILDEBRAND, POPE GREGORY VII.: THE ATTEMPT TO SET UP A THEOCRACY . . .	58
PHILIP AUGUSTUS: THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL KINGDOMS . . . . .	87
FREDERIC II.: THE FINAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY . . . . .	114
CHARLES IV.: THE MEDIÆVAL EMPIRE LIMITED TO GERMANY . . . . .	144
LORENZO DE' MEDICI: THE RENAISSANCE .	165
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS: THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD. . . . .	190
MARTIN LUTHER: THE REFORMATION . . .	215
PHILIP II.: THE COUNTER REFORMATION . .	245
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS: THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR	274
LOUIS XIV.: THE SUPREMACY OF FRANCE . .	301

viii LEADING FIGURES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

	PAGE
FREDERIC THE GREAT : THE RISE OF PRUSSIA .	329
NAPOLEON : THE REVOLUTION AND EUROPE .	358
CAVOUR : THE REALISATION OF ITALIAN UNITY .	391
BISMARCK : THE MODERN GERMAN EMPIRE .	419
INDEX . . . . .	453

## INTRODUCTION

Go where you will over the Lowlands of Scotland or England, or in western Europe over the countries south of the Danube, you will seldom find a district that cannot boast of Roman remains. Here is a magnificent aqueduct ; there a vast amphitheatre ; at one place are sumptuous baths, with plumbing work that is still a pattern in these modern days ; at another the ruins of some huge villa, its tessellated pavements and artistic remains the delight of all connoisseurs. All along the boundaries of this area you see mighty fortifications and the remains of fortresses, and inside a network of cleverly designed strategic roads. A glance at an ancient atlas will show you that the Roman Empire stretched from the Atlantic to the Rhine, from the Danube to the Sahara, from the Black Sea to the Desert of Arabia. Historians will tell you that by the third century, within these limits there was but one code of law, that all free inhabitants—after the Edict of Caracalla—had equal rights before the law ; all were in the fullest sense Roman citizens ; that, in a word, within the civilised world there was, for all intents and purposes, one state and one people.

When you remember all this you will find it difficult to realise how such a vast and magnificently organised state fell before the incursion of the hordes of barbarians, whose civilisation was as much below that of Rome as is the Afghan below that of England in the present day. The reasons, however, are not far to seek. The mighty

## 2 LEADING FIGURES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Roman Empire had lived upon itself; emperor had opposed emperor; civil war had eaten out the heart of the empire. Heavy taxation had brought about small families, and this race-suicide had been hastened by the devastation of great plagues. Meanwhile luxury had sapped energy: the practice of arms was no longer a national duty. The legions were full of barbarians, mere mercenaries, who often drifted home to show their fellow tribes the weakness of the Roman power. The frontiers were defended by an arrangement whereby the barbarians of Africa were sent to serve on the Danube or in Britain, while Britons and Teutons were sent to Africa and Spain. But there was no real national army to reinforce these frontier guards. The only troops retained at the seat of empire were the Jovians and Herculians, forming the emperor's bodyguard. As the emperor's power became more despotic the upper classes—as in France in the eighteenth century—were deprived to a great extent of political work: removed thus from the sphere of local and imperial politics, they became mere flunkeys at the emperor's court, while the machinery of government was worked by a close bureaucracy. Thus it was that, when the swarm of barbarians swept away the few highly trained legionaries, there was no one to organise local defence, and the mass of the population, enervated by years of bad government, fell a spiritless and docile prey to their new masters.

The more far-seeing emperors had recognised that the burden of empire was too heavy for one man, but they were powerless to introduce a new régime without demolishing their own power. Diocletian, indeed, in 303, had attempted to lighten the task of the emperor by associating three colleagues with himself. It was his intention that each of the two seniors should have the title of Augustus, and the two juniors should bear that of Caesar; when a vacancy occurred among the Augusti the senior



Caesar would be promoted. Thus he hoped to secure a succession of trained emperors. One Augustus was appointed to Italy and one to the East, while one Caesar took the Danube, and the other the Rhine. Such a system, unfortunately, except in the case of very exceptional men, was bound to lead to the break up of the empire or to civil war. In 330 the Emperor Constantine, finding Italy too much exposed to barbarian inroads, moved the seat of empire from Rome to his newly chosen site on the Bosphorus, where stood the old Greek city of Byzantium. This strategic post on the lines of communication between Europe and the rich lands of Asia, was out of the track of the barbarian invaders from the North. Moreover, it brought the emperor into close communication with the sturdy peasantry of the uplands of Asia Minor, who produced the most famous soldiers within the eastern limits of the empire. It was to bind these soldiers to his cause that Constantine adopted Christianity as the state religion.

For the next one hundred and thirty years there were usually two emperors, one at Constantinople, the other in Italy; though, latterly, the Emperor of the West was merely the coadjutor of the Emperor of the East. Meanwhile, stream after stream of barbarians, Goths, Vandals, Huns and Burgundians, swept over the West. Save for the Huns all these tribes came rather to possess than to destroy. The Vandals occupied north-west Africa, the Visigoths Spain, the Ostrogoths Italy, and the Burgundians central France; gradually they formed for themselves new states. The contact with the empire affected them in three distinct ways. First, they practically all accepted Christianity; but all were tainted with the heresy of Arius. They could not conceive of our Lord as perfect God and perfect man, and they denied His divinity. Secondly, they assimilated as much as they could of the civilisation of the empire. Above all they

#### 4 LEADING FIGURES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

were influenced to an extraordinary degree by Roman Law, so that they replaced to a great extent their old tribal customs by the law of the conquered ; their greatest chieftains issued codes based on the Law of Rome.

Neither the conquered Romans nor their barbarian conquerors believed that the Roman Empire could really perish. 'When Rome the head of the world shall have fallen,' wrote Lactantius, 'who can doubt that the end is come of human things, aye, of the earth itself?' The Gothic chieftain's aim was to become an official of the empire. Athaulf, the brother of Alaric, wrote, 'When experience taught me that the untamable barbarism of the Goths could not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law, and the abolition of the institutions in which the state rested would involve the ruin of the state itself, I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome.'

Thus it was that in spite of the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410, it was not till the year 476 that the last Emperor of the West disappeared. In that year, by the advice of his barbarian supporters, the boy-emperor, Romulus, nicknamed Augustulus, surrendered to Zeno of Constantinople the title and insignia of the empire. The empire of the West became reabsorbed in that of the East, and Italy was ruled by Scyrrian and Ostrogothic kings bearing the title of Roman Patricians, nominally acknowledging the suzerainty of Constantinople.

Some sixty years later Justinian, the great Emperor of the East, made an effort to reconquer the lost possession of Italy ; his generals, Belisarius and Narses, met with such success that for fifteen years the whole of Italy was regained. But in 568 a new swarm of invaders, the Lombards, came in from the north-east. Still, for the next two centuries Ravenna, Rome, Naples and Calabria remained a part of the empire.

Though the Lombard invasion thus checked the re-establishment of the empire in Italy, strange to say, it was one of the chief causes whereby the idea of the unity of Christendom was furthered. The pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome dates from the moment of the decline of the western empire; there can be but little doubt that if, at the end of the seventh century, Italy had been definitely regained by the eastern empire, the history of the Papacy would have been very different from what it is. During the first three centuries of the Christian era the Patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Carthage were as important as, in fact more important than, the Bishop of Rome. At the time of the Council of Nicaea, and in the disputes which centred round the name of Athanasius, the Bishop of Rome was only beginning to stand out above his fellow Metropolitans. It was not the mythical donations of the dominion of the West to Sylvester I. by Constantine the Great, but the strong action of Julius I. in defending Athanasius, and the expelled bishops of Constantinople and Adrianople, against the semi-Arians, that definitely placed the Roman bishop at the head of the western churches; while the withdrawal of the seat of the empire of the West to Milan, Pavia or Ravenna, left the Bishop of Rome the greatest authority in the old Imperial City.

The action of the various popes, notably Leo I. (440), in defending the city against the barbarians, added immensely to the prestige of the papal office. So much so that Leo protested against a decree of the Council of Chalcedon, which placed the see of Constantinople next to that of Rome—giving it pre-eminence over the sees of Antioch and Alexandria—on the ground that Rome was supreme and there could be no second to her. In this no doubt he was right, for Rome was busily engaged in winning the barbarians to the Christian faith, while Constantinople

## 6 LEADING FIGURES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

and the churches of the East were fully occupied with the subtle question as to the true nature of our Lord. Hence it was that, in spite of their Arianism, the many conquerors of the West regarded the Bishop of Rome as their spiritual head and the personification of the unity of Christendom. The bishops of Rome, from their jealousy of those of Constantinople, looked to the barbarian rulers of Italy, such as Odoacer and even Theodoric, for support, and acquiesced in their supervision of papal elections. It was thanks to the genius of Gregory I., who became bishop in 590, that Rome for long withstood the assaults of the Lombards. Without consulting the imperial exarch Gregory actually entered into treaties with the Lombard dukes; gradually, through his influence, the whole of the Lombard tribes became converted to the Christian faith. His missionary efforts were not confined to Italy, and we have to thank him for the introduction of Christianity into southern Britain by Augustine. It was also through his influence that Spain was won over to the Catholic faith and her king Reccared converted from Arianism. In spite of the many shortcomings of his successors, the Roman see never entirely lost the temporal and spiritual predominance that he had gained for it.

While the sixth century witnessed in Italy the phenomenon of the gradual extension of the spiritual and the temporal power of the Papacy, in the north a new dominion was springing up into existence, which, together with the Papacy, was to be the controlling influence in Europe for many centuries. The Franks were a section of the Teutonic race which, in the advance westwards, had settled part in Flanders, Artois and Picardy, and part along the banks of the Rhine from Maintz to Cologne and on the Moselle from Coblentz to Metz. The northern sections of this confederacy were known as the Salian, the southern as the Ripuarian Franks. In the year 481, Clovis, a petty king

of the Salians, came to the throne of Tournai, and, after a reign of thirty years, gained for himself the sovereignty over all Franks, subduing to his rule three-fourths of France, the Rhine valley, and a great part of south-western Germany. By the year 535, his sons had actually established an overlordship of the Bavarians, and pushed their frontiers into Italy to the valley of the Adige. The Roman pontiff was glad to seek an ally in Clovis ; for the Franks, the last invaders in the field, were not tainted by the heresy of Arianism. This alliance between the Frankish king and Roman bishop was to bear much fruit in the future.

But Clovis' premature empire had within itself no latent strength ; it depended not on organisation and law, but on the force and vitality of its rulers. The house of the Merovings, divided against itself and sapped by luxury and excess, was unable to bear the burden of empire after the second generation. Gradually its outlying possessions fell into the hands of their former rulers, provincials, like the Dukes of Aquitaine and Provence, or native Bavarian or Burgundian chiefs. Even Frankland became divided into what was known as Neustria, that is, Flanders, Champagne, Normandy and central France as far as the Loire, and Austrasia, the territory of the Rhine and the Moselle. Each division was ruled by a Meroving, the holder of Neustria usually claiming supremacy. Dagobert I., who died in 635, was the last of the race to display royal energy. After him they reigned, but did not govern : few lived beyond the age of twenty-five, and gradually all the royal authority fell into the hands of the chief officer called the 'Mayor of the Palace.' This official was the power behind the king as, in our own day, the shogun was the power behind the mikado, or the grand vizir the power behind the sultan. In Neustria the office did not become hereditary, being usually filled by one of the great nobles ; but in Austrasia, about the



## 8 LEADING FIGURES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

year 615, there arose a Mayor of the Palace, whom we know as Pippin of Landen: his daughter married the son of his great friend St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz.

The Frankish history of the seventh and eighth centuries is but a record of how this family gradually made the office of Mayor of the Palace a hereditary possession. There was a futile attempt at usurping the kingship in 656, but it was almost a hundred years later that, in 750, the then Mayor of the Palace, another Pippin, deposed the last *roi fainéant*, and, with the authority of Pope Zacharias, proclaimed himself King of the Franks. As the Chronicle puts it, 'Pope Zacharias therefore answered their' (Pippin's emissaries) 'question, that it seemed more expedient to him, that he should be called and be king, who had power in the kingdom, rather than he who was falsely called king. Therefore, the aforesaid pope commanded the king and people of the Franks, that Pippin, who exercised the royal power should be called king and placed on the royal seat, which was accordingly done by the anointing of the holy Archbishop Boniface (the West Saxon) in the city of Soissons. Pippin is called king, and Childeric, who falsely bears that title, receives the tonsure and is sent into a monastery.'

While, in the West, the important circumstance of the seventh century is the rise of the house of St. Arnulf to power among the Franks in alliance with the Papacy, in the East the emperor at Constantinople was faced by a religious convulsion, which shook the very foundations of his power. This phenomenon, even to the present day, is still to a great extent the dominating factor in the politics of Asia and northern Africa. The prophet of this new religion was Mohammed, the son of Abdullah, who preached to the northern tribes of Arabia a rigid Unitarian creed and a reformation of morals. At first the new prophet met with but little success. The year 622 saw his flight



from Mecca, the famous 'Hijrah,' the event from which all Moslem history takes its date. But within ten years from the Hijrah Mohammed had converted all Arabia. His success was largely won by pandering to the habits and superstitions of his fellow tribesmen, hence a spirit of self-indulgence entered into his teaching which was fatal to its purity as a religion. Mohammed promised his followers in this world the goods of their enemies, and in the world to come a heaven of gross sensual enjoyment. He preached the extirpation of all unbelievers, and the sure possession of this voluptuous heaven by all killed in warfare against those whom he was pleased to term the infidels. The fatalism of the East, which was absorbed into Mohammedanism, supplied an invincible but short-lived driving power. Hence Islam became the religion of the warrior tribes of the East, and as an aggressive agent it stands unrivalled in the chronicles of the world. Scarcely had the prophet died when, in 633, his successor, Abu Bekr, led forth from the wilds of Arabia two armies to conquer Persia for Islam. With the cry from their leaders 'Paradise is before you, the devil and hell fire behind you,' the Moslem fanatics overthrew the army of the eastern empire at Hieromax (Yermak) in the summer of 634. By 640 they had conquered all Syria, and threatening Asia Minor were crossing the desert of Suez to invade Egypt. Pushing along the southern shore of the Mediterranean they subdued all northern Africa, and crossing to Spain, in the year 711, they so completely overwhelmed the Visigothic kingdom, that practically nothing is known of the last hundred years of its existence. By 713, the Moslems were rulers of the whole of Spain, except along the mountainous coast of the Bay of Biscay, where the Basques and the Visigothic highlanders of Asturias retained a precarious liberty.

It seemed for a time as if western Europe was to fall

before the Moslems. By 720, they had subdued the province of Narbonne or Septimannia, and, in 725, they penetrated as far as Autun, in the heart of Burgundy. What was more ominous, they found an ally in Eudo, the provincial Duke of Aquitaine. But the sword of Charles Martel, the father of King Pippin, and the treachery of the Moslems, taught Duke Eudo the foolishness of such an alliance. In the year 732, Abderahman, the great Moslem leader, started from Pampeluna with a vast host, bent on the conquest of Gaul. Sweeping aside the Aquitainians and their duke, he completely overcame that province and penetrated as far north as Poitiers. But there he found, covering the only passage between the lower spurs of the Auvergne Mountains and the Bocage, the might of the Franks under the great Mayor of the Palace, Karl, or, as he is otherwise known, Charles Martel, 'the hammer.' The great struggle followed which was to decide whether the Koran or the Gospel was to be the religion of the West. For seven days the hosts of Mohammed and Christ faced each other; the issue was so uncertain that the leaders on either side were almost afraid to take the initiative. At last Abderahman set his troops in motion, and the fiery Moslems hurled themselves against the masses of Frankish infantry. Of the details of the fight we know nothing; the Spanish chronicler Isidore is our only guide. 'The northern natives,' he tells us, 'stood immovable as a wall or as if frozen to their places by the rigorous weather of winter, but hewing down the Arabs with their swords. But when the Austrasian people, by the might of their massive limbs, and with iron hands striking straight from the chests their strenuous blows, had laid multitudes of the enemy low, at last they found the king (Abderahman) and robbed him of life. Then night separated the combatants, the Franks brandishing their swords on high in scorn of the enemy.' The remnants

of the Moslem hosts fled in disorder, and so ended the danger to western Christendom from the followers of the prophet. The next important event in the eighth century in the drama of western Europe was the final disappearance of the power of the eastern emperor from Italy, and the consequent complete emancipation of the Bishop of Rome.

We must return for a short period to the eastern empire. In 634, the fatal weakness of the empire was proved at the battle of Hieromax. But it was not till 717, that after varying fortune the Moslems, after ravaging Phrygia and Cappadocia, threatened the heart of the eastern empire. Fortunately, in that year, out of the throes of revolution, there appeared a soldier capable of mastering the situation. Leo, the Isaurian, seized the Imperial Crown from his incompetent master Theodosius III.; and when a few months later, for the second time, the Moslem fleet and armies appeared before Constantinople, they again found an opposition worthy of the Roman name. After the vicissitudes of a siege lasting a full year the enemy fell back exhausted. It was primarily, no doubt, thanks to the impregnable walls of Constantinople and to Greek fire that the leaguer failed; but without the courage, energy and skill of Leo, mere fortifications would have availed but little. The successful defence of Constantinople was, in its way, no less important for Europe than the battle of Poitiers. The Mohammedan power had received a complete set back, and for the next five centuries Europe had little to fear on her eastern flank; in fact, Leo's successors regained a great deal of their lost Asiatic possessions owing to divisions in the Mohammedan camp.

To return now to the relations between Constantinople and the Papacy. For fifty years after the death of Pope Gregory I. there was a period of comparative agreement.

But in 655 Constans II., finding his decrees on the Monothe-lite heresy treated with disdain by the fiery Pope Martin, seizing a favourable opportunity had the contumacious Martin carried off in chains to the Crimea. This did much to estrange the loyalty of the Romans. In 663, Constans actually paid a visit to Italy, and, finding the Romans disloyal, attempted to neutralise the power of the Roman Church by granting to the Archbishop of Ravenna a formal exemption from spiritual obedience to the Bishop of Rome. Constans' son, Constantine V., reversed this policy. Indeed, in 681, he even went so far as to announce, that, if the suffrage of the clergy, people and soldiery of Rome were unanimously cast for one candidate that man might at once be consecrated pope without awaiting an imperial mandate from Constantinople.

During the twenty years of anarchy preceding the reign of Leo the Isaurian, the popes John II. and Gregory II. levied taxes, made treaties, and accepted or refused to acknowledge the mushroom emperors. So independent had they become that when, in 726, Leo the Isaurian issued the famous edict, forbidding the worship of statues and paintings, Gregory II. treated this decree with contumacy, telling him that he was little better than an ignorant school-boy. It was thanks to the power of the great Lombard king, Liutprand, that the rebellious pope escaped the arm of the exarch who was sent by the emperor to punish him. But, in 740, his successor Gregory III. quarrelled with Liutprand, who was now, to all intents, the ruler of Italy. The pope could not hope for any help from the emperor whom he had so lately insulted. Accordingly, in his extremity he turned to Charles Martel, and as a bribe invested him with the title of Roman Patrician, which title was not his to give. He sent him also the golden keys of the tomb of St. Peter. Charles refused to quarrel with Liutprand who had helped

him against the Moslems at Poitiers and elsewhere. So in the end the pope was forced to make terms with Liutprand. The diplomacy of Pope Gregory III. has vast significance, because it foreshadows the temporary alliance between the ruler of the Franks and the Bishop of Rome, which, sixty years later, re-established the Roman Empire of the West, and led to the supremacy of the Papacy.

It was, as we have already said, ten years later, in 750, that the descendant of St. Arnulf at last, with the connivance of the pope, deposed the Merovings, and stood forth as ruler of the Franks in name as well as in fact. There were many reasons for the sanction thus given by Papacy. The house of Arnulf had, all through its history, lent a willing hand to the famous band of missionaries who, during the eighth century, were so active in converting the heathen to the east of the Rhine, Saxons, Frisians and Wends. These missionary bishops were most zealous upholders of the spiritual domination of the Bishop of Rome. It was therefore only meet that the greatest of them, Boniface, an Englishman from Crediton, should be selected by the pope to crown King Pippin. By way of adding sanctity to the ceremony, Boniface anointed him, like David, with holy oil. Another great reason for the papal action was the fear of the Lombards. Having got rid of the authority of the absentee emperor, the pope had no desire to fall under the influence of the ever present rulers of Pavia, who were now attempting to exercise the forgotten rights of the emperor over Rome and its church.

Very soon the pope called upon the gratitude of the new king. Early in January 754, Stephen II. arrived at Ponthieu at Pippin's court, demanding vengeance on the Lombards, who, he declared, were attempting to spoil St. Peter of his patrimony. Some time was spent in negotiations, during which, at St. Denis, the pope 'anointed



the most pious Prince Pippin, King of the Franks, with the oil of holy anointing, according to the custom of the ancients, and at the same time crowned his two sons, who stood next him, in happy succession, Charles and Carloman, with the same honours.'

Charles or Karl, better known as Charlemagne, is the first of our portraits, and with him we will begin a new chapter, but before closing this one we will take a rapid glance at the map of Europe, in the year 754. The whole of the Iberian peninsula, save *Tras os Montes* and Asturias (*i.e.* the northern slopes of the Cantabrian Mountains) had fallen beneath the yoke of the Saracens. The old kingdom of Septimannia between the Pyrenees and the Rhone, and the duchy of Aquitaine, might any day be invaded by them.

The Frankish kingdom extended over all modern France and included Frisia: the boundary then ran south down the Rhine, until it diverged east along the Taunus as far as the Harz Mountains, then down the Saale to the Bohemian Wald, including Bavaria as far as the river Inn. But though the limits were thus great, the Frankish kingdom was by no means homogeneous, and might at any moment split up along old tribal lines.

In Italy the Lombards held the valley of the Po, Tuscany, and the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Diagonally across the Lombard states ran the remains of the old exarchate, till lately subordinate to the empire of the East. It included the strip of territory on the east of the Apennines from the mouth of the Po to Ancona, and Rome, Naples, Salerno, and most of Apulia. Calabria and Sicily still owned allegiance to Constantinople.

Central Europe, save for the Teutonic tribe of Saxons, whose lands stretched from the Harz Mountains to the Oder, was inhabited by Slavic tribes, Serbs, Czechs, Wends and Croats, and Mongolian Avars.



## CHARLEMAGNE

WHEN on September 24th, 768, Pippin, the great King of the Franks, breathed his last, he left behind him two sons, between whom, according to the Frankish custom, he divided his inheritance. The elder, Karl, or Charles, born in 743, was in his twenty-sixth year; the younger, Carloman, was some ten years junior. Roughly there fell to the lot of Charles Austrasia and the German lands dependent upon it, and probably Neustria; while Carloman was endowed with Burgundy, Provence and Alamannia, or what we should now call Swabia. Between the brothers there was little sympathy and less resemblance. Carloman, we are told, was weak and peevish, a prey to the will of any strong unscrupulous spirit. Charles was the Frank at his very best. Contemporary ballads sing of his hardiness and his strength: how he would hunt the wild bull single-handed: how he could fell a horse and rider at a single blow, straighten four horse shoes with his mighty fingers, and lift a fully clad warrior with his right hand. His person was magnificent: the head was round, the forehead majestic, the nose like the beak of an eagle, and the eyes like those of a lion. His face in rest was pleasing enough, but when in anger so fierce that men durst not look at it. Charles stood seven feet high by Frankish measure—six feet two inches by our reckoning. His neck was short, and in later life he tended towards corpulence; but the fair proportion of his limbs concealed these defects. His walk was firm, and the whole

carriage of his body manly. His voice was clear, but not so strong as his frame would have led one to expect. 'Constantly in the saddle, riding and hunting were his delights, and he was also extremely fond of swimming. Sociable by nature and intensely affectionate, he loved being surrounded by his friends, especially by members of his own family. Intensely proud of his race and his lineage, even when he became emperor he always wore the dress of his native country—that is, the Frankish: on his body a linen shirt and linen drawers, then a tunic with a silver border, and stockings. He bound his legs with gaiters and wore shoes on his feet. In the winter he protected his shoulders and chest with a vest made of the skins of otters and sable. He wore a blue cloak, and was always girt with his sword, the hilt and belt being of gold and silver.'

Of his early years and education we know nothing, except that he was present at and included in the ceremony at St. Denis when, in July 754, Pope Stephen II. crowned and anointed his father King Pippin, and at the same time poured the holy oil on his own head and on that of his younger brother Carloman. This event is noteworthy, for Charles and Carloman were both crowned kings before their father's death. So keen a brain as that of the young Charles could not but be impressed by the fact that the performer of the mystic ceremony of anointing—the high spiritual power, the head of the greatest organisation of western Europe—was a fugitive; that this mighty personage depended for his lands, nay, as later events showed, for his life, on an iconoclastic emperor, an Arian Lombard, or the power of the Frankish sword. Meanwhile at home his father had brought him up not only with a deep reverence for the Church, but with a keen insight into the usefulness of the churchman. The Frankish kingdom had long outgrown the possibility

of the immediate supervision of all subordinates by the king, however active and ambulatory his court might be. Power had had to be delegated to the headmen or counts of the districts ; these counts were becoming each year less the delegates of the king, and more and more hereditary rulers. The extraordinary delegates or Missi, sent out to supervise the counts, found it hard to enforce the royal will. It was Pippin who first saw in the high clergy or bishops a new class for enforcing the royal supremacy ; for clerics, in theory at least, ought not to found families ; although the law of the celibacy of the clergy had never been definitely accepted by the western Church.

During the first three years of his reign Charles was hampered by the ill-will and jealousy of his brother, who, the chroniclers tell us, had not the generosity to co-operate with him, or the courage to oppose him. The only noticeable event during these years was the revolt of the Roman provincials of Aquitaine, under Hunald, father of Duke Waifer, who had been deposed by Pippin. The revolt gave Charles the first opportunity of showing that remorseless energy which characterised all his actions. Hurriedly collecting the forces of southern Neustria, with the help of the garrison of Angoulême, he routed the rebels and drove them back over the frontier into Gascony ; and before leaving the conquered province he built a strong fortress at Fronsac at the important ford of the Dordogne.

A modern writer points out that, though Charles' military abilities have been greatly exaggerated, his precautionary measures will bear comparison with those of any mediæval sovereign.

On December 4th, 771, Carloman died, and Charles hurriedly proceeded to the Villa of Carbonacus, near Soissons, where he was solemnly proclaimed King of all the Franks. There was no one to assert the claims of

Carloman's young sons, who, with their mother Gerberga, hurried across the Alps to take refuge with the Lombards. The Archbishop of Paris and the Abbot of St. Denis, the most influential men of the late king's court, were statesmen enough to recognise the evils which a long and protracted minority would bring on their country. Owing to the division made by Pippin, whereby each son's possessions were partly German and partly provincial, there was no national feeling in the late king's territory. No sooner was all chance of opposition ended than Charles began to carry out to its logical conclusion the policy of the house of St. Arnulf. Three things were lacking to make the Frankish kingdom strong: firstly, more German blood; this could only be found in the Teutonic tribes on the east of the Rhine; secondly, a better organisation; thirdly, a high ideal. The last two could only be secured by summoning to the aid of the royal authority the organisation and spiritual authority of the Church.

One of the great characteristics of King Charles was his sane common sense—the power of seeing what was most needed at the moment. But while endued with this gift he was no mere opportunist; his every action was founded on the religious principles which guided his hopes; his habit of mind was far too straightforward, and indeed he lacked the imagination necessary, to pursue the tortuous methods of diplomacy. As Frankish king Charles desired to add the Saxons to the number of his subjects; as a true son of the Church he desired to win their heathen souls from the devil. Consequently, once he was freed from the necessity of watching his brother he turned all the concentrated might of his kingdom to the conquest of Saxony. Though he soon found that he had underestimated the task, he never hesitated or drew back: so for the next thirty years he waged an almost unending war, amid the forests and swamps of that country.

By the year 789 Charles had, either personally or by his Missi, waged eleven campaigns against the Saxons. These expeditions were very harassing. The natives seldom attempted to resist in the field. The huge Frankish armies, meeting with no opposition, overran the country, burning and devastating. Then for a few years there was peace, only to be followed by some fresh attack on a weakly guarded camp. Then came the hurried assembly of a huge punitive expedition, and opposition almost at once disappeared.

In the wake of the Frankish armies followed the missionaries; these holy men used, as the centres of their efforts, the great strategic camps which were left behind when the expeditionary force withdrew: these in later times became the centres of sees like Münster and Paderborn. The spiritual persuasion of the monks was backed by the rough and ready legal claims of the secular arm. When spiritual persuasion failed, the conquered heathen were driven to the baptismal tent by bribes or menaces. But this method of winning souls to God was by no means successful. One of the most serious risings of the Saxons occurred, in 782, after the king had issued his stern 'Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae,' whereby the death penalty was to be inflicted on any one who violently entered a church or robbed it, on any one who despised the Christian customs of Lent and ate flesh therein, on any one who slew a bishop or presbyter, on any one who in heathen fashion believed in witchcraft, on any one who practised cremation instead of burial, and on any Saxon hiding himself to escape baptism. A further cause of this rebellion was the enactment of a strict tithe law.

The revolt would have been more serious if a great leader had appeared among the Saxons; the only man whose name stands out is Widukind. He does not seem to

have really been successful in uniting all the tribes against their conquerors, though it was thanks to his genius that in 782 the Franks received the most severe reverse they met with during the reign of Charles. They were advancing in two columns on the Saxon camp at Suntal near Minden, one column under the Counts Adalgisus and Grilo, the other under Theodoric, the king's cousin. The counts, jealous of Theodoric, thought to steal a march on him, and attacked the enemy before his column was in position. Widukind effected a surprise and cut the Frankish host to pieces. Charles in fury at once summoned the whole host of Frankland, took the field himself, and swept over the land.

When the unfortunate inhabitants clamoured for peace, Charles summoned all the Saxon chiefs and demanded the name of the author of the revolt. With one voice they said Widukind: but Widukind had fled to Denmark. Then the king demanded the surrender of the chief men of all the tribes, to the number of four thousand five hundred. It was expected that only the ringleaders would suffer; but Charles, mad with rage, caused all the four thousand five hundred to be beheaded on the same day at Verden, on the banks of the Aller; and then, as the chronicler says, 'Having perpetrated this act of vengeance the king went into winter quarters at the villa of Theodo, and there celebrated the birth of our Lord.' Such were the means whereby the last of the Teutons of Germany were won to the religion of Christ. But what was far more effectual in finally taming the Saxons was the system, commenced about 797, of transporting whole tribes into Frankland, replacing them by Franks, and of taking vast quantities of the younger warriors as hostages and training them and educating them as Christians. Within a century these Saxons were grateful to the great king for winning them from heathenism, and giving them an organisation



and a polity higher than they possibly could have had as long as they remained a collection of small tribes worshipping Irminsul, 'the all-sustaining pillar.' 'The best man on earth,' wrote a Saxon chronicler, 'and the bravest, was Charles. True and good faith he established and kept.' Within a hundred years the Saxon poet could write of him—

'He swept away the black deceitful night  
And taught our race to know the only light.  
The strife was long, the peril great and sore,  
And heavy toil and sleepless watch he bore.  
But these be things all Europe has by heart,  
All Europe in that mighty work had part.  
The hosts of all his realm did he combine  
To drag this people from the devil's shrine,  
For who can turn fierce heathen from their bent  
By soft persuasion and sage argument?'

After all the Saxon problem was a straightforward one ; the object in view and the means to the end were simple ; all that was required to carry it to a successful conclusion was tenacity of purpose. But the next problem which faced King Charles was by no means so easy to solve ; although in this case again all that was necessary was to carry out to its logical conclusion the policy of the house of St. Arnulf. In 772, Pope Stephen III. died and was succeeded by Hadrian, a man of fairly ambitious character, capable of conceiving and carrying out large statesmanlike plans. His predecessor, Stephen III., had weakly allowed the Lombard king Desiderius to encroach on the patrimony of St. Peter. But the new pope was of sterner stuff, as Desiderius soon found to his cost. The last of the Lombard kings did not lack statesmanship, for he had attempted to neutralise the alliance between the pope and the kings of the Franks by offering, in 769, his daughter Desiderata in marriage to one of the young

rulers. Charles, desiring, we can but suppose, to strengthen his position against his brother Carloman, put away his wife, a Saxon lady, Himiltruda, and, in 770, married the Lombard's daughter, only to divorce her in the following year. What his motives were for so doing is hard to say. The Monk of St. Gall, writing a century later, says that the lady was delicate and not likely to become a mother. But it is more probable that it was the entreaties of the pope, the memories of the past, and the certainty that Carloman had not much longer to live, which caused him to take this step. His action showed the Lombard that, in his struggle with the Papacy, he must depend on himself alone. Hence it was that he seized the occasion of the Saxon war and the advent of the new pope to occupy Faenza, Ravenna, and the greater part of the Pentapolis, and to advance within a day's march of Rome itself. But Pope Hadrian was not to be intimidated; his one reply to the Lombard ambassadors was, 'First let your master restore the possessions of which he has unjustly despoiled St. Peter; and then, not till then, will I grant him an interview.' Meanwhile he set to work to put Rome in a state of defence, and, early in 773, despatched a messenger by sea to demand Charles' aid.

Like his father before him Charles had no desire to be drawn into the complications of a campaign in Italy, if other methods would avail. Accordingly, he despatched an embassy to Pavia, but Desiderius refused to treat. This constrained the Frankish king to summon that part of his host which was not engaged in Saxony. He divided his army into two commands: his own division crossed the Alps by the narrow valley of the Dora, which was held by the Lombard troops; his uncle Bernard crossed by the Great St. Bernard Pass, thus causing the Lombards hurriedly to evacuate their fortified position at the mouth of the Dora Valley. The campaign there-



after centred in the siege of Pavia, which ultimately surrendered, in June 774, after a resistance of ten months.

Meanwhile Easter of that year had seen Charles' first entry into the Eternal City. He had hurriedly left the siege of the Lombard fortress for a few days, and, on Easter Eve, had been met by the squadrons of the Roman militia and bands of school-boys bearing their banners and crosses and singing loud his praises—in fact, with all the ritual and ceremony which in old times had honoured the visit of the exarch. At the church of St. Peter the king dismounted and went up on foot with his nobles, kneeling down at each step to kiss the marble stairs. Pope Hadrian and the great ecclesiastics stood awaiting him at the top of the flight of steps, and outside the church doors pope and king clasped each other in mutual embrace; then, holding the pope's right hand, the Frankish king entered the sacred building while the monks and clergy chanted 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' It was during this visit, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, that, with 'a terrible oath,' Charles swore that he would convey to St. Peter divers cities and territories in Italy. 'From Luna with the island of Corsica, thence to Simarium, thence to Mons Bardonis, thence to Parma, thence to Rhegium, and from thence to Mons Silicis; and moreover the whole exarchate of Ravenna, such as it was in old times, and the provinces of Venetia and Istria; moreover, the whole duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.' (In other words the whole of Italy except the Riviera, Piedmont, Lombardy north of the Po, Naples and Calabria.) Whether this is a mere forgery or not, the fact remains that no pope of the ninth or tenth century ever attempted to put the claim into execution.

The fall of Pavia in June brought many open and doubtful enemies into Charles' hands, but he acted with mercy. Desiderius and his family were sent into

monasteries and convents north of the Alps; the same fate probably befell Gerberga and the two young sons of Carloman who had taken refuge at the Lombard court. The Iron Crown of the Lombards fell to Charles, who from now onwards styled himself 'Rex Francorum et Langobardorum atque Patricius Romanorum.' But he wisely decided not to amalgamate Francia and Italy; though from then onwards all Italy, except a few coast towns, recognised him as supreme ruler. He left the local administration in the hands of those who had formerly held it, and he made no attempt to regulate his relations with the Papacy. Future popes and emperors were thus involved in bitter and seemingly endless quarrels. Still, for the time, save for one insurrection, in 776, of Hrodgaud, Lombard Duke of Friuli, the Italian question was solved.

In 777, Charles held a great diet at Paderborn, and it seemed as if the Saxons had at last accepted his rule, although Widukind was conspicuous by his absence. To this diet came ambassadors from Ibn-el-Arabi, the Moorish Governor of Barcelona, and from the sons of Yussuf-el-Fekir, the last Abbasside ruler of Spain, who had been slain, in 759, by Abderahman the Ommeyad. The emissaries begged for Charles' assistance against Abderahman, promising the surrender of many cities in Spain if Charles would but appear before their gates. He listened to the tempting offer, remembering how his grandfather Charles Martel had hurled back the Moslem invasion at Poitiers, and how his father Pippin had regained Narbonne from the infidel.

The campaign opened early in 778. For the invasion of Spain the Frankish host was reinforced by the men of Septimannia, Provence and Burgundy, and by contingents from Lombardy and even from Bavaria. Charles as usual divided his army. He himself led one column

over the Pyrenees by the famous pass of Roncesvalles ; another division under Duke Buchard, mainly composed of Austrasians, penetrated into what we now call Catalonia by the passes of the eastern Pyrenees. The idea was that the whole host should reassemble at Caesar Augusta, that is, Saragossa on the Ebro. Pampeluna, a city belonging to the Christian kingdom of Asturias, opened its gates to Charles after a siege, and ultimately Saragossa with its governor, Ibn-el-Arabi, surrendered to the now united host. But by August it was clear that Spain, west of the Ebro, was united in its obedience to Abderahman ; and Charles, obliged to acknowledge that his expedition had really been a failure, was forced to withdraw to his own dominions.

The mass of the army safely crossed the terrible Pyrenees. But on August 18th, as the last columns were slowly passing through the gorge of Roncesvalles, they were suddenly attacked by the Basques. The whole of the rearguard were cut to pieces, and there fell among others Eggihard the Seneschal, Anselm the Count of the Palace, and, most celebrated of all, Hruodland, the governor of the Breton March, so dear to minstrels and trouveurs of later centuries as the famous Rolland. It was his praises that Taillefer, the Norman, first sang on our shores, as tossing his sword aloft he rode before Duke William's warriors on the field of Hastings, singing—

‘ D’Allemaigne et de Rollant  
Et d’Olivier et de Vauceux  
Qui mourrent en Rainschevaux.’

So with disaster ended Charles' attempt to play the part of the defender of Christendom against the Moslem. But the land between the Pyrenees and the Ebro never again fell absolutely under the sway of the infidels. In 785 his son Louis made an expedition into Spain. The

conquered territory was turned into a province, known as the Spanish March. By 811 this included the newly conquered towns of Tarragona and Tortosa.

The year 781 brought to the front a question which was bound to be faced sooner or later. The Bavarians had always resisted the overlordship of the Frankish crown. The question had become more acute since Tassilo, the Bavarian duke, had married a daughter of King Desiderius. The duke had naturally resented the fact that Charles had divorced his sister-in-law. During the conquest of Lombardy he had contented himself by maintaining a sulky isolation; but, as years went on, this attitude began to turn into that of active hostility. Charles seized the opportunity of his visit to Rome, in 781, to have his son Pippin crowned King of Italy, and another son Louis as King of Aquitaine. He also accepted the offer of the pope to effect a reconciliation with Tassilo. The result of the negotiations was that the duke came to Worms, swore a new oath of allegiance, and gave hostages. 'But the said duke,' as the chronicler writes, 'returning home did not long remain in the faith which he had promised.' No doubt one reason for this was the cruel and arrogant character of Charles' new queen, Frastrada. Hildegard had died in 783, and Charles had immediately married this lady who 'diverted her husband from the kindness and accustomed gentleness of his nature.' The consequence was that, in 785, there was a palace intrigue which aimed at taking the king's life. Following on this came a Lombard insurrection in Benevento. Thereafter Tassilo suddenly refused to carry out the terms he had sworn to at Worms. Charles at first tried to negotiate with him, and the pope threatened anathemas if he did not keep his oath. But Tassilo had made up his mind to fight the matter out. However, when, in 787, the great Frankish host, in three columns, invaded his land, he

tamely surrendered, only in the next year to attempt to regain his power by intriguing with the Avars. Charles once again swept down on him, and this time had his head shaved and sent him into a monastery. Bavaria thenceforth became an integral part of the Frankish dominions.

The absorption of Bavaria brought in its train the conquest of the Avars, a Mongol tribe inhabiting the valleys of the Drave and Save. They were a fiercely predatory race, and during the seventh century had been a real danger to Europe. But, although their powers were on the wane, difficulties in Saxony prevented their subjugation from being accomplished in the campaigns of 790-1. Accordingly, to facilitate communication between the different theatres of war on the Danube and the Elbe, Charles eagerly accepted a suggestion of connecting the water system of the Danube with that of the Rhine, by means of a canal joining the Altmühl to the Rezat. The Altmühl flows into the Danube near Weissenberg in Bavaria, and the Rezat flows northwards into the Main. All through the autumn of 793 vast crowds were set to work on the enterprise, and a ditch two miles long and three hundred feet wide was actually excavated. But the autumn floods were too much for the diggers, and the heaps that were dug out were washed back into the trench.

Charles did not himself take the field in the later campaigns against the Avars, and it fell to the lot of Duke Eric of Friuli to storm their celebrated fortress or 'Rhing.' The 'Rhing' was a huge circle of concentric walls or stockades; the outer one was thirty miles across; between the rings were grazing grounds and fences, and in the centre was stored the accumulation of two hundred years of predatory warfare. Duke Eric stormed the seven outer rings in 795, and sent the vast hordes of plunder to King Charles. The mass of money thus recovered was enormous, for, during the greater part of the seventh



century, the eastern empire had bought peace from the Avars by paying yearly blackmail to the extent of one hundred thousand solidi. Besides this mass of bullion, gorgeous arms, bales of silk, precious stones and treasures of all descriptions were recovered, and Charles was able to send magnificent presents to the pope, to his fellow sovereigns, including King Offa of Mercia, and to all ecclesiastics, nobles and courtiers of his own kingdom. In the following year his son, King Pippin of Italy, stormed the two inner rings, and completed the conquest of the Avars. Although there were one or two slight attempts at rebellion some years later, we know little more of them, except that, in 805, we find that the Chagan was a Christian and bore the name of Theodore.

In December 795, Charles lost a good friend by the death of Pope Hadrian. His successor, Leo III., a Roman by birth, appears to have been unpopular with the citizens of Rome, probably owing to his harsh temper. Among the great lay officers of the papal court there was a strong minority bitterly opposed to him. His first act was to send messengers carrying the keys of St. Peter and the banner of Rome to Charles, announcing his elevation to the Papal Chair. Charles acknowledged this submission and wrote to Leo, 'It is ours, with the help of the divine piety, externally to defend the Holy Church of Christ by our arms from all pagan inroads and infidel devastation, and internally to fortify it by the recognition of the Catholic faith. It is yours, most holy father, with hands raised to God, like Moses, to help our warfare: that by your intercessions the Christian people may everywhere have the victory over their enemies, and the name of the Lord Jesus may be magnified throughout the whole world.'

Two years later, in April 798, Pope Leo was set upon by the emissaries of two of the great household officials, one of whom was a nephew of Pope Hadrian, and left

for dead on the Flaminian Way. After many vicissitudes he escaped from his enemies, and in the summer of 799 appeared at Charles' camp at Paderborn in Saxony. The king received the half-blinded pontiff with all honours, and for two months negotiations were carried on between them. There was much to decide. The enemies of the pope had made the most foul insinuations against his moral character. Before what court if any ought the Head of the Church to clear himself from these accusations? How far was the faith of western Europe shaken by the insinuations against its head? How in future was the supreme spiritual power of the West to be maintained against personal enemies, or the fickle hatred of the Roman mob?

There was also the question of the relationship between the Bishop of Rome and the Roman Patrician, which had been kept so nebulous during the pontificate of Hadrian. This raised the fundamental question as to what was the position of Roman Patrician. The answer to this was, that although the title had been granted by Pope Stephen to the Frankish king, the patrician was originally the official responsible to the emperor for the government of Italy. But what of the empire in the year 799? Was there an emperor? In 797 the prestige of the Roman Empire had received an immense shock, when Irene, mother of the Emperor Constantine VI., had seized her son, blinded him, and with the aid of the anti-Iconoclastic party had caused herself to be proclaimed empress, to the scandal of the civilised world.

There can be but little doubt that as Pope Leo pondered over his position, the thought occurred to him that if his predecessor Pope Stephen could restore the title of Roman Patrician, he himself might restore the title of Emperor of the West—nay, rather of Emperor; for, in the opinion of many, there was no emperor now. Charles, on his side,

had already considered the matter, and his friend Alcuin, the Northumbrian Monk, had written to him in May from Tours, clearly suggesting the fatal word 'Imperator.' 'There have been hitherto three persons higher than all others in the world. One is the Apostolic Sublimity, who rules by vicarious power from the seat of St. Peter, premier of the apostles. And what has been done to him who was the ruler of the aforesaid race you have in your goodness informed me. The second is the Imperial dignity and power of the sacred Rome. How impiously the governor of that empire has been deposed, not by aliens but by his own people and fellow-citizens, universal rumour tells us. The third is the royal dignity in which the decree of our Lord Jesus Christ has placed you, as ruler of the Christian people, more excellent in person than the aforesaid dignitaries, more illustrious in wisdom, more sublime in the dignity of your kingdom. Lo! now on you alone the salvation of the churches of Christ falls and rests. You are the avenger of enemies, the guider of the wanderers, the comforter of the mourners, the health of the good.'

These great problems could not be settled off-hand. Meanwhile Pope Leo was escorted by the king's 'Missi' to Rome, where the fickle mob received him with acclamations. Charles himself spent the year 800 in perambulating his dominions, and passed some time at Tours in consultation with Alcuin. Then, after holding a placitum at Mainz in August, he began preparations for his last and most celebrated visit to Italy. On November 24th he reached the Eternal City and was met as before with all pomp. His first visit was to St. Peter's, where he received the papal blessing and paid his devotion at the tomb of St. Peter. His next business was to hold an inquiry into the assault on the pope, and to give the pontiff an opportunity of publicly disclaiming the



charges made against his character. A great synod met on December 1st, but declared that it could not judge the Apostolic See. However, the pope listened to Charles' advice. After making it clear that his conduct must not be turned into a precedent against his successors, in the presence of the king and his Frankish followers he swore in the Ambo of St. Peter's, in a loud clear voice, that he was innocent of the charges brought against him.

On the morning of Christmas Day Charles, in courtesy to the pope, clad in Roman fashion in a long tunic and chlamys, and wearing Roman shoes, went to pay his devotions before the tomb of St. Peter. The great basilica itself was filled by an immense crowd, who had come to see the famous King of the Franks. When the pope had solemnised the Mass, the king and his sons, Charles and Pippin, rose from their knees and prepared to leave the building. But, before they could do so, Leo suddenly approached the king, and placed on his head a crown of gold. Then, says the papal biographer, 'All the faithful Romans, beholding so great a champion given them, and knowing the love he bore to the Holy Roman Church and its Vicar, in obedience to the will of God and St. Peter, the key-bearer of the Kingdom of Heaven, cried out with deep accordant voices: "To Charles, most pious and august, crowned by God, the great and peace-bearing emperor, be life and victory."' Led by the pope the whole congregation broke into the litany called 'Laudes,' invoking blessing on the emperor and his children.

Such was the rebirth of the Roman Empire of the West. Historians have viewed it from many points. Some declare that it was a revolution; that the pope had given what was not his to give; that it was not legal for a barbarian to be emperor. Others maintain that the emperors originally were elected by the people and soldiers

of Rome ; that the acclamation of the crowd in St. Peter's was a valid title when sanctioned by the voice of the Roman Senate. Still, the fact remains, that, even before his election, Charles was to all intents and purposes more powerful in western Europe than any emperor had been for many centuries.

The emperor's friend Eginhard mentions the fact that Charles at first was so averse to taking the title that he said that 'had he known the intention of the pope, he would not have entered the church on that day, great festival though it was.' The remark is probably genuine, and arose from the fact that he had not yet made up his mind as to the expediency of taking the title, which, while it conferred no new power on himself, might add considerably to the difficulties of dividing his inheritance among his children. No doubt he was annoyed at having his hand thus forced. Moreover, pious and faithful son of the Church as he was, he disliked the appearance of receiving the imperial crown from the hand of the pope, and probably foresaw some of the difficulties which might follow in the future.

Still, once crowned he determined to play his part. One of his first actions was to send off an embassy to the Empress Irene at Constantinople—to propose a marriage between them, says a Byzantine chronicler ; at any rate, to see whether the Byzantine court would recognise his new title. But though Irene made friendly overtures, a revolution cut short her reign.

It was not till 810, and then at the cost of surrendering the Adriatic territories of Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia 'to his brother Nicephorus,' that the Byzantine court at last recognised the new dignity of the King of the Franks.

The ten years which succeeded Charles' coronation at Rome were on the whole the most peaceful of his reign.

The Saxons were by now fast becoming Christians. In the West his son Louis, King of Aquitaine, kept the Moslems quiet along the Spanish March. In Italy Pippin, under his father's supervision, maintained a wise and beneficent rule; while the eldest son, Charles, administered Neustria. But when necessary one of the three might be sent off to superintend the host. In 810, there appeared the first threatening of the storm which was to shake the newly-founded empire to its base. There had for long been disputes between the tribes which occupied the territories we now call Schleswig-Holstein. The Danes took one side, while the emperor sent out his son Charles to support the tribe which had always been loyal to the Frankish alliance. Thereon, in 810, the Danish king, Godfred, assembled his fleet and proceeded to lay waste the shores of Frisia. Before the emperor could build a fleet the Danish king was murdered by one of his vassals. Still Charles allowed no diminution of his naval programme, and in 811, reviewed his new instrument of war in the harbour of Boulogne. It would have been well for Europe if he had recognised earlier in his life the need for ships.

The fatal year 810 brought other and closer troubles. On 6th June Charles' eldest daughter died: a month later, July 8th, died Pippin, the young king of Italy. Worse still, on December 4th, 811, his eldest son Charles died—the apple of his eye, who most resembled him in features and in character. There was left then Louis, known as the Debonnair, a man of piety and culture, but little fitted to the iron needs of empire. In September 813, with many misgivings, feeling his own end approaching, Charles had him crowned at a *generalis conventus* at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). There he himself breathed his last, a few months later, on the morning of January 28th, 814, in the seventy-seventh year of his age and the forty-seventh of his reign.

Looking back over the ages it is not difficult to understand why it was that within a few years of his death men everywhere added the adjective 'magnus' to his name, or why three hundred and fifty-one years after his death the Roman Church canonised him as a saint. For few men have done more in their life or worked harder and with more single intent than King Charles. Seldom does it fall to the lot of man to impersonate a myth. It is as the refounder of the Roman Empire that we now remember him; that empire so grand in its claims of universal lordship, so noble in its ideas of the unity of Christendom, yet so hopelessly impracticable in its performance. But those who lived nearer to his time beheld the 'terrible king' not as the holder of some vague and glorious title, but as the shield of Christendom against Moslem and Avar; as the militant apostle and conqueror of the Saxons; as the maintainer of a peace and the administrator of a justice which, compared with the insecurity, hardship, and the brutalities of a later time, made his reign seem to them the veritable 'Golden Age.' His friendship with Haroun-al-Raschid, the Caliph of Damascus, and his protectorship of the city of Jerusalem cast a world-wide glamour over his empire.

Great and glorious as was the empire which Charles created, it was essentially the triumph of his own personality rather than a dominion built on a sure and sound foundation. Charles was in no way an innovator; he accepted the title of emperor, as we have seen, with reluctance. He himself added nothing to the political institutions of the age. The constitution of the Frankish nation, as built up by his forefathers, rested on the ability of the monarch to supervise the local administrators, either by personal visitation or by means of delegates called 'Missi,' sent out from the royal court. Charles, as year by year his dominions extended and the calls on his time increased,

trusted more and more to the 'Missi' to superintend the counts who were now becoming the hereditary rulers of the gaus or districts. The old local self-government by the hundred court was everywhere giving way to the jurisdiction of the count. This was in no small measure due to the wars of conquest so continually waged by the house of St. Arnulf. The necessity for complete obedience in the host strengthened the position of the count. The small freeman at all times found it hard to struggle against the forces of nature: a bad harvest might at any moment bring complete ruin. But, when year after year he was called away to fight during the summer months, it was no wonder that he could no longer gain a living from his land, and in return for sustenance and protection was glad to commend himself and his land to some great and wealthy neighbour. Moreover, we must remember how continuous was the drain on the manhood of the nation, for like all great conquerors Charles found that one war but led to another. Hence it was that, to some extent, Charles was himself responsible for the fact that internally his dominions were a great deal weaker at the end of his reign than they were at the beginning.

In spite of his great industry and immense grasp of detail, the very evils against which his capitularies and laws were issued were, to a great extent, of his own creating. He could see clearly that the counts were getting stronger and pressing too hardly on the people of their gaus; he could give careful directions to his 'Missi' to supervise these counts and, if necessary, to remove them: he might issue minute decrees as to how justice was to be administered, and how the law of God was to be obeyed: his selection of 'Missi' might be excellent: his substitution of the bishop for the count might for the time alleviate the evil. But these were all palliatives; they could not correct the natural effects of the general policy of himself



and his predecessors, which was essentially prejudicial to the interests of the small freeholder.

He did his best to protect the oppressed. We have his 'eight-fold ban' against those who dishonour Holy Church; against those who act unjustly against widows, orphans, and poor men, unable to defend themselves; against those who carry off a free-born woman contrary to the will of her parents, or set fire to another man's house, or with violence break into a man's dwelling, or who neglect to obey the king's summons to the host. We must not too severely blame Charles for failing to solve social and political problems which are still vexing the men of our own day. We should rather remember how to the best of his ability he brought order into what had before been chaos: how he set before himself and his subjects the idea that his empire aimed not merely at dominion over men's bodies, but cared also for their souls. He believed that it was his duty not only to see that men did not do wrong, but also that, from a religious point of view, they did right. Church and empire, according to his idea, were co-extensive: the Church indeed was not a department of the state, it was the state, and the emperor was the guardian and protector of the Church, not, as in later ages the popes maintained, the Church's vassal. It was in fact the thoroughness with which Charles built up the ecclesiastical power in his dominions which enabled the Papacy to put forward those claims to universal supremacy which he himself would have been the first to deny.

Terrible, unbending, indefatigable as he was as a king, as a man Charles was intensely beloved by all with whom he came in contact. His unaffected manner, his cheeriness, his good spirits and his personal magnetism were irresistible. He had an insatiable curiosity. He delighted to play the patron of letters, and established a sort of

royal academy at his court, under the conduct of Alcuin the Northumbrian. Riculf, Archbishop of Maintz, Angilbert, the king's chaplain, and Anno, Archbishop of Salzburg, were the chief instructors. They corresponded with each other under assumed names. The king chose that of David, while Alcuin called himself Flaccus Albinus. As regards his morals Charles did not rise above the condition of his age. Extremely uxorious by nature, he placed but little check on his passions. Though four times married we hear of several concubines, and so lax was he that scandal did not hesitate to bring in the names of his daughters. But he had many good qualities. His biographer tells us that 'he was temperate in meat and drink, especially in the latter: he had the greatest aversion to drunkenness in any man, much more in himself and his companions. From solid food he could not abstain in the same degree, and often complained that fasts were injurious to his health. At his usual dinner were served no more than four courses, not counting the game with which his hunters served him from the spit: he preferred this to any kind of food. During dinner he listened to a recitation or reading. The readings were taken from the lives of the ancients. He delighted also in the books of St. Augustine, especially that entitled *The City of God*. He was so sparing of the use of wine and other beverages that he rarely took more than three draughts during dinner. In summer he would take after dinner some fruit and a cup of liquor: then he would undress and pass two or three hours in sleep.'

Building was one of his great hobbies. At Maintz he threw a great bridge across the river, which was unfortunately destroyed by fire a few years after it was completed. At Aachen, his favourite abode, he built a palace and a church, part of which remain to this day. But so degenerate was the age that the decorations had to be



supplied by robbing the walls of the old Roman town of Verdun ; while the colossal equestrian statue, which adorned the square before the church, was brought from Ravenna, and was really a monument of Theodoric the Ostrogoth.

Such then were his virtues and his failings. With his high aims and his brilliant though passing success, no man will deny him the title of greatness, and we cannot be surprised that to this day both Frenchmen and Germans claim him as their own.

## RICHARD THE FEARLESS

THE years which followed the death of Charlemagne proved only too conclusively how insecure were the foundations of the re-established empire of the West. Charles' son Louis, surnamed by some Debonnair, by others Pious, lacked his father's virility. The slave of his wife, the tool of every intriguer, a monk-ridden coward and an over-indulgent father of ill-disciplined children, he made no attempt to grapple with the problems which had baffled his father. The royal estates were squandered away to the church in 'frankalmoign'; these reckless donations, which deprived the crown of the service due from land, added to the already overweening claims of the clergy. The local counts became more and more independent and disobedient, and on all the frontiers of the empire there was unrest and insecurity. At last Louis' elder sons, seeing the feebleness of his rule, seized the excuse of his partiality for their youngest brother to rebel against him. From 829 to 834 there was civil war. Fortune alternated between the emperor and his undutiful sons at the will of the treasonable nobles who kept faith with neither party. On one occasion at Rothfeld, in June 833, nearly the whole of the Imperial host passed over to the rebels; and the unfortunate king told his scanty followers, 'Go ye also to my sons: it would be a pity if any man lost life or limb on my account.' So Louis was left alone at his tent door with no other follower than his wife Judith, and from that day onwards men called the Plain of Rothfeld—the Lügenfeld or Field of Lies.

In vain by the Partition of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) and the Placitum of Worms, Louis attempted to associate his sons in the work of government. Each attempt at partition was the signal for fresh civil war, while Danes and Saxons ravaged the outskirts of the empire. The death of Louis did not improve the position of affairs. His three sons Lothaire, Louis and Charles, and their nephew Pippin, continued the internecine strife. In 841, in the valley of the Yonne at Fontenay, the Emperor Lothaire, with the men of Austrasia and the Aquitainians under Pippin, faced the Bavarians and Saxons under Louis, and the Neustrians under Charles. After a tremendous struggle the forces of Louis and Charles were completely victorious. From that day, writes the chronicler, 'The strength of the Franks was so cut down, and their fame and valour so diminished, that for the future they were not merely unable to extend the bounds of their realm, but were incapable of protecting their frontiers.' The result of the battle was the Partition of Verdun, in the following year, 842. The empire of Charlemagne was completely broken up, for although Lothaire retained the title of emperor he had no authority outside his own district. Three new kingdoms were then formed. In the West Charles was granted Neustria, Aquitaine, the Spanish March and western Burgundy: in the East Louis held all the Teutonic lands east of the Rhine, Saxony, Thuringia, Bavaria, Swabia, and a suzerainty over the Slavs of the Elbe and Save; while Lothaire retained the middle kingdom composed of Frisia, Austrasia, Burgundy, Provence and Italy, with the two Imperial capitals of Aachen and Rome.

The forty years which followed the Peace of Verdun are very hard to keep clear in the mind. Each of the three brothers had three sons, and they rang the changes on the names Lothaire, Louis, Charles and Carloman. They were all alike tainted by the curse of the descendants

of Louis the Debonnair—inconstancy and intrigue. The great outstanding feature in the situation was the attack on western Christendom by the Danes and the Magyars. The people of Denmark and Scandinavia, like the Saxons and Angles some centuries earlier, were increasing out of proportion to their food supply. Swarms of these bold sailors put out from their homes in their long coasting boats to find a livelihood, and fell upon the unprotected coasts of the empire and of Britain. The story goes that Charlemagne foretold the troubles that they would bring on the empire when he saw their dark sails from his palace at Narbonne. He at any rate recognised that the only way to meet them was on their own element, the sea. But unfortunately he died before the Imperial fleet became a fleet in being. Like England the empire was too much occupied with the rival claimants to the throne to continue a sound naval policy. Thus the Norsemen and Danes found a rich and easy means of livelihood. Their numbers increased rapidly when the fertile provinces of western Europe were their store-house and granary. Attacks became more frequent and bolder. From 841 till 921 hardly a year passed in which they did not devastate some part of what we now call France. By 879 their power was so firmly fixed in England that King Alfred was glad to buy peace by surrendering the eastern half of England to their King Guthrum by the Treaty of Wedmore. On the continent this same policy, of setting a thief to catch a thief, was often adopted: notably in the case of the Terra Northmannorum round Rouen. In 921—to accept the date which seems most probable—by the Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte, Charles the Simple granted to the Norseman Rollo the principality of Rouen on condition that he became a Christian and defended the Seine Valley from the attacks of his countrymen. Meanwhile in southern Europe, in 868, the Moors had reoccupied

Provence. In the East the Magyars were pressing in to the occupation of Hungary, and in 899 they had actually forced their way as far west as France and Italy.

It seemed as if the whole polity of the Frankish Empire would collapse, for in spite of these disasters the descendants of Charlemagne would not combine. Meanwhile Christianity was on the wane. At Rome there was a succession of dissolute puppet popes, the nominees of the counts of Tusculum. Everywhere the bishops were becoming mere secular rulers, and simony was rampant: the discipline of the monasteries was relaxed, and the lower clergy were sunk in ignorance. The whole moral tone of Christianity had reached its nadir, partly owing to the general insecurity, and partly to the fact that there was a general belief that the world would come to an end in the year 1000. The laxity of moral principles is perhaps most clearly shown in the tortuous diplomacy of the age. Duke Hugh of Paris will swear on the relics that he will uphold his overlord King Louis d'Outremer against his enemy, the Norman ruler at Rouen, at the very moment he has just made a solemn contract with the Northmen to attack King Louis. Instances like this are innumerable, and it is almost impossible to unravel the tangled skein of alliances and counter-alliances. As it was with the big man so was it with the small; religion, loyalty and moral principle had totally disappeared.

To the men of the period life seemed to be one constant struggle against insurmountable difficulties. It is no wonder then that, listening to the fabled legends of Charlemagne, they recalled his times as the Golden Age, and clung to the rule of his descendants as the only means of re-establishing peace within the bounds of the civilised world. But it was not through the empire that political stability was to be gained. The scourge of the Danish invasion brought into prominence the fact that strong

local government was the first necessity of the day. Where the local count or bishop or duke was a capable man, the Danish raids were checked. It was the local levies properly organised under the local leader, with strong local defence, not the tumultuary armies of the Carolingian king, which gave security to the district. Hence we find that in addition to the quarrels among the Carolingians themselves, there was this other factor which made for the dissolution of the empire. The period is characterised by the growth in importance of the hereditary dukes or counts of Saxony, Swabia, Bavaria, Lotharingia, Tuscany, Aquitaine, Paris, Vermandois, Flanders and Normandy.

We have seen that in 921 Charles the Simple bought off the Danish chieftain Rollo, and secured his services against his fellow countrymen by granting him the principality of Rouen, on condition of his becoming a Christian. Three years later a further grant was made of the Bessin, or county round Bayeux, which already was inhabited by a Danish population. Rollo was succeeded by his son William Longsword, to whom, in 933, Rudolph of Burgundy, the successor of Charles, granted the supremacy of the maritime counties of Brittany—that is to say, the Cotentin and the county of Avranches. But though thus recognised by the Carolingian kings, the Dux Piratorum, or Captain of the Pirates, as William was called by the Frankish chroniclers, was regarded with hatred and contempt by the other great feudatories of the Frankish king. His chief enemy was Duke Hugh, Count of Paris; the Danish settlement of Rouen cut off the growing power of the Lord of Paris from the sea. Hugh's father had for the time seized the Frankish crown, but the prestige of the Carolingians was too great for him to retain it. But Hugh was eagerly expecting the time when his family might finally tear the sceptre from the grasp of the failing Carolings. The Count of Vermandois, though he



stooped so far as to allow his daughter to marry William Longsword, had no real love for the Norman. Arnulf of Flanders hated him because he had foiled him in his designs on Ponthieu. Hence it was that William, as years went on, and the young Carolingian King Louis d'Outremer showed signs of allying himself with the crafty Duke Hugh, was forced to seek his support from the Danes. He had his only son Richard, the fruit of his union with a Breton lady Sprota, educated among his still heathen countrymen of Bayeux.

In 942 a conspiracy was formed by King Louis, Arnulf of Flanders, and Duke Hugh; William was invited to a meeting on an island in the Seine and foully murdered. The conspirators, however, found they had gained but little; they had calculated on easily overrunning and occupying the country, but this dastardly act bound together the Christian Danes of Rouen and the pagans of Bayeux. Bernard the Dane, Rollo's fellow-warrior—the head of the civilised party among the Danes—on the night that William's remains were carried into Rouen brought forward the young Richard to the grave-side. Amid scenes of the greatest enthusiasm Christians and pagans, Normans and Bretons, swore that the fair-haired boy of ten should be their ruler and prince.

For the next three years the lad led a life of the wildest adventure. At first the pagan party was the stronger, and he was taken to Bayeux, where the Frankish chronicler maintains that he was taught to despise Christianity, and eat with delight roast horse-flesh, the test of paganism. From this situation he was rescued by the crafty Bernard, who, seeing no other means for restoring the supremacy of the Christian party, sent the boy to Laon to do homage to King Louis for his possessions. The king received the lad kindly, but the Queen Gerberga, as the Norman chronicler tells us, was envious



of the handsome boy whose straight limbs and upright bearing emphasised the failings of her poor crook-legged, sallow-faced son Lothaire. Using every artifice, the jealous mother strove to turn the king against the young Richard. It did not need much ingenuity to prove to Louis how fickle were the Danish population, how thin was their veneer of Christianity, and what an asset the rich Terra Northmannorum would be in the struggle which was imminent between himself and the Duke of Paris. Owing to the lavish grants of his predecessor, the King of the West Franks had few important possessions left, save the rock of Laon. His strength lay merely in the vague glamour which surrounded his family, and in the title of king; while his opponent had gathered into his hands vast fiefs stretching even south of the Loire.

Hardly had Richard returned to Rouen than he was seized by the pagan party under Thormod, who, reinforced by a Danish fleet under Sithric, for the moment threatened to sweep right over France. But King Louis took prompt steps to rescue his new ward, and, advancing into Normandy, completely routed the Danes in Ponthieu at the 'Battle of the Rescue.' Thereafter, as the saviour of the country, and the acknowledged overlord of the land, Louis proceeded to Rouen, and was kindly entertained by Bernard and the Christian Danes. But the people mistrusted the king, and a tumult at once arose in the city, which was at last quelled by Louis producing the young Richard, promising to treat him as a son, and surrendering him to Bernard and the other Norman regents. The regents were in a great difficulty, for it was only by the aid of King Louis that they could retain their supremacy against the pagan party who were intriguing with Duke Hugh. Accordingly, after Louis had sworn, on the golden shrine, the Gospel Book and the Holy Rood, that Richard should hold the Terra Northmannorum

by hereditary right, he was allowed to leave Rouen for Laon, and to take the boy with him, so that he might be brought up as a Christian and trained as a Frankish noble.

With the lad there went as his tutor Osmond, a noble Dane. At first all seemed well. Louis with Normandy at his beck contemplated the conquest of Flanders and the gradual humiliation of Duke Hugh of Paris. The Normans were delighted at the projected overthrow of Arnulf, one of the murderers of William Longsword. But that supple intriguer sent to King Louis an ambassador, who, while offering aid against Duke Hugh, secretly pointed out that there only stood a boy's life between the King and the annexation of the Norman land. Whether Louis listened to these infamous proposals it is impossible to say, but he certainly changed his whole attitude toward Richard, and kept him in the closest confinement. The strict imprisonment and want of exercise told on the lad's health. His tutor Osmond, thinking to trick the king, bade the boy refuse nutriment, and simulate great weakness. Soon the lad appeared so ill that the guards were withdrawn and all precautions relaxed. It was on this that Osmond had counted. One evening when the court was at a banquet, he wrapped the boy up in a bundle of hay, carried him out of the palace, and placing him across his saddle bow rode off to Couci and delivered him to Bernard de Senlis, an old friend of William Longsword. At Bernard's advice Osmond placed Richard under the protection of Duke Hugh, King Louis' great enemy. Thereon there followed another piece of villainy, for after at first refusing to compel Bernard to surrender Richard to King Louis, Duke Hugh entered into a secret agreement with the king to partition Normandy.

It looked as if the Norman power was really destined to be overthrown. But Bernard the Dane was a man of resource. Throwing in his lot for the moment with

the pagan party, he sent a message to summon Harold, the leader of the Danish fleets. This warrior has been identified by some as Harold Blaaland or Blue-tooth. The Danes were only too ready for the fray. Meanwhile, meeting guile by guile, Bernard offered no resistance to Louis' advance, and threw open the gates of Rouen. Thereafter, having set Louis once again at variance with Duke Hugh, he hurried him off to oppose the great Danish host which was advancing from the west, well knowing that Louis, unaided by Duke Hugh, was sure to be beaten. Everything took place as he had calculated: on the banks of the Dives, early in 945, the Danes totally routed the Frankish king's army; and Louis, after a personal combat with Harold, was taken prisoner, only to escape for the moment and be caught by Bernard's emissaries and carried to Rouen.

At Rouen the king was held a close prisoner while his enemies consulted as to what to do. Duke Hugh finding himself no match for the Danes, and seeing no hopes of acquiring power at the expense of the Normans, determined to become the arbiter of the king's fate. The result was that the young Richard came back to Rouen as the recognised lord of the Terra Northmannorum, owning no fealty to the King of the Franks. The Norman chroniclers would have us believe that a perfect reciprocity was established between the Norman duke and the Frankish king. Be this as it may, Hugh as his price for helping to restore the king was granted the much-coveted rock of Laon. But the business did not end here. For the Norman leaders recognised the hatred the Franks bore them. They saw that if they wanted to exist as a state they must definitely enter the political system of their neighbours. Accordingly the young duke did homage to Duke Hugh and became his man. In return the duke affianced him to his daughter Emma, though there could

be little question of a marriage for a few years to come, Richard being but thirteen years old. As we shall see, the treaty thus arranged bore far-reaching results. It was this alliance of Paris and Rouen which gave the last blow to the tottering throne of the Carolingian kings, and went far to establish the dynasty which occupied the throne of France in unbroken succession from the year 987 to 1792. Moreover, it is from this year, 945, that we date the foundation of the Norman Duchy, whence sprang that race of soldier-statesmen, who gained for themselves the dominion of England, of southern Italy and Sicily, led the crusades, and established the Latin Empire of the East. Without the steadying influence of the Duke of Paris, it is most unlikely that Duke Richard would have been able to resist the intrigues of the counts of Flanders, and the other great feudatories of the Frankish king, or have had strength to amalgamate the Danes and Franks within his domains into the most versatile of Christian people, as the Normans actually became.

While the Lords of Paris and Rouen were thus paving the way for their future greatness, the high-spirited descendant of the great Charles was not content to be stripped of his hereditary possession of Laon by his over-mighty feudatory, or to forget the shame of his imprisonment at the hands of the Captain of the Pirates. He turned in his dire need to Otto, the king of the Germans. While Otto had no desire to see King Louis too powerful, he had equally no intention of allowing a new power to appear in the west under the aegis of the Duke of Paris. Otto, though claiming little of the blood of Charles, had the ambition of re-establishing in his own person the empire of his grandmother's illustrious forefather. The two kings mustered their forces, and Hugh and Richard were compelled to take measures to check this coalition. With the kings marched Arnulf, the *bête noire* of the Norman

people. The chronicles expatiate on the vastness of the German host, and on the fact that, owing to the heat of the summer of 946, the army of the coalition was forced to wear straw hats. The first object of attack was Duke Hugh, but that shrewd warrior, after carefully provisioning the impregnable island fortress of Paris, fell back with his forces across the Loire at Orleans. After a vain demonstration against Paris, the army of the kings marched northwards against Rouen, where Richard and his advisers had made all preparations to resist a siege. For this part of the story we are forced to rely entirely on the Norman chronicles, for the Frankish annalists cover their disgrace by merely alluding to the fact that the royal army had to fall back.

Richard and his Northmen made no attempt to check the advance on Rouen, but when the hostile army settled down to undertake the siege, the young duke sallied forth with his chosen warriors, and great was their success. If we may believe the court chroniclers, it was Richard himself who in the first sally slew the Edeling or prince of the royal blood. It was this bold sally, no doubt, that won for him in later days his title of the Fearless. But it was not so much the stubbornness of the Norman defenders, as dissensions in the royal camp, which saved the city of Rouen. King Otto distrusted Arnulf, who in turn was afraid of the German king. The camp of the besiegers was full of rumours of treachery, and it required but the accidental outbreak of a fire to send the ill-assorted allies flying by separate roads for home. Once they found their enemies retreating, the Northmen under their young duke took up the pursuit, and the confederates were given no time to rally.

The ten years following the deliverance of Rouen were on the whole years of peace for the Norman people. On one or two occasions Richard had to send help to his



liege lord of Paris, when that turbulent feudatory was attacked by the Carolingian king. During these years Richard came to maturity, and impressed his influence deeply on his state. As we have said he was the son of the Breton lady Sprotta, and it is doubtful if he had the slightest drop of Frankish blood in his veins. His early education among the pagan Danes of Bayeux had not been obliterated by his year of captivity at the Frankish court. During his early manhood, at his most plastic age, he was mainly under the influence of his old tutor, Osmond, and of Bernard the Dane, the veteran companion of his grandfather, Rollo, the 'Ganger.' It was these shrewd advisers who taught him to look to the Duke of Paris for the advancement of his dominion, and impressed on him the necessity of adopting a policy whereby he should rid himself and his people of the opprobrious name of 'pirate.' Richard was clever enough to see the wisdom of following this advice. At heart a libertine, he had little desire to enter the holy estate of matrimony, 'Christiano more,' with Emma, daughter of his liege lord. He preferred the lighter tie, 'more Danico,' with the fair charmer of the hour. Extravagance and pleasure were the keynote of his youthful days, and he early showed his headstrong character and capacity to impose his will, by suddenly deposing Raoul Torta, his seneschal, a stern economiser of the revenues of the state. The slightly civilised Danes saw but little to blame in their young lord's conduct. His sunny smile and cheery manners, his intimate knowledge of the Danish tongue, his delight in feats of arms and his prowess in the chase, were things that appealed to their hearts. Richard, like many of his descendants, expressed in his person the ideas of the age, and thus it was that, during these ten years of peace, the pagans found that, without interfering with their pleasures, they might become in name Christians; that



hunting, though not so thrilling as piracy, might become a fair substitute for it; that it was pleasanter to own lands and vineyards than to be continually buffeted in war; that it was on the whole more profitable to buy the booty of others than go to seek it oneself. Thus it was that by the year 956 the old distinguishing line had disappeared between the peoples of Bayeux and Rouen.

In that year Duke Hugh, known by his people as Hugh the Great, passed away: his enemy King Louis d'Outremer had died two years before him. On his death-bed the duke summoned his nobles and gave his last commands. Richard must be induced to fulfil his contract and marry Emma, for the powers of Paris and Rouen were mutually dependent: on no account must his wife Hadwissa and his children fall into the hands of King Lothaire, for Hugh remembered the early fortune of Richard; she and her children must be placed in the hands of his son-in-law to be. Thus it fell about that, on the death of Hugh the Great, Richard became the regent of his future brother-in-law, Hugh, known to history as Hugh Capet, the first Capetian king of France.

But Lothaire, the new Carolingian king, would not give up, without a struggle, his claim to the wardship of so many rich fiefs. Though Hugh the Great had found it expedient to ally himself with the growing power of Rouen, there were many others in France who still hated the Dux Piratorum. Hadwissa and the children were captured by Lothaire's agents. At once the ruler of Normandy and the King of the Franks were brought face to face. Lothaire claimed that Richard should do him homage for his dominions, and this Richard stoutly refused to do on the ground of the agreement of 945. Then for three years the rival claimants for the guardianship of Hugh the Great's domains snarled at each other. In 959 Lothaire thought to checkmate Richard, and break up the ascend-

ancy of the dukes of Paris, by dividing the inheritance. He gave the duchy of France and the suzerainty of Poitou to Hugh, the elder boy, and Burgundy to Eudes, the younger. Richard countered by at last celebrating his marriage with Emma, and doing homage for his lands to the young duke Hugh.

Lothaire then determined once and for all to sweep away the Norman power before the young Hugh was capable of helping his brother-in-law. During 960 he sounded all Richard's enemies, beginning with Otto, just about to be crowned Roman Emperor, who had not forgotten his disgrace of fifteen years ago. An attempt was made to assassinate Richard like his father, but he escaped, and in turn attempted to entrap Lothaire at Soissons early in 961. Thereon Lothaire, with his allies of Chartres, Flanders and Anjou, advanced against Normandy. After failing to lure Richard to a conference, the allies were defeated at the battle of the Fords on the Eaulne, near Dieppe. The fight was fierce: it commenced by the enemy surprising Richard at his midday meal; in the *mêlée* which ensued there was little generalship and many hard blows, and Lothaire after being unhorsed was glad to call off his men. Richard exultantly called out 'Lothaire goes home, a thousand lances shall he have for his convoy.' Though thus checked Lothaire did not give up the struggle, but proceeded to summon Richard to Laon, and in default to condemn him as a felon.

It was clear that King Lothaire and his advisers had declared war to the death. The Duke of France was not able to aid his brother-in-law, who was surrounded on all sides by a ring of foes: behind the Franks were leagued the Germans of the Emperor Otto. Before such a coalition Duke Richard quailed. In his despair he bethought him of his kinsfolk, and sent letters of entreaty to Harold Blaatand. The extremity must have been dire, for

Richard well knew how enraged his enemies would be : but it was clear that they had already decided to deprive him of his land and power.

The Norsemen gladly responded to the call. England protected by King Edgar's fleet was too strong to be attacked, and as plunder was always a desirable object, they gladly accepted the invitation to harry France. Soon their fleet had entered the Seine, and they occupied the old Norse camp at Fosse Givolde, where the Seine and Eure meet, near the modern Pont de l'Arche. From this centre, for twelve months, the freebooters made plundering forays into the country of Duke Richard's enemies ; and Ponthieu, Flanders, Chartres, Maine and Anjou had cause to rue the attempt to oust Duke Richard. Backed by such allies none dared face the Norman arms, and in vain Lothaire held his councils at Melun and Laon. At last the coalition was forced to cry for peace, and Wolfaldus, Bishop of Chartres, was sent as envoy to Richard. Richard gladly accepted the terms offered, namely the restoration of Evreux and all places occupied by his enemies, and the guarantee of the Terra Northmannorum by Lothaire. But his piratical allies were hard to deal with : they were reaping a rich harvest, and had no desire to quit their comfortable quarters. When the question of peace was placed before the assembled Danes, it was greeted by hoots and groans. But the supple Richard got his way. By bribing their leaders, by pointing out to one the chance of booty in Galicia, by showing another the advantage of accepting Christianity, he won over a strong party among the captains, and then left them to manage their soldiery. These methods proved effectual. A number of the Danes accepted Christianity and settled in Normandy, but the greater part, well paid, sailed off to Galicia to ravage that country.

The Carolingian dynasty was never strong enough to

raise up another coalition against Duke Richard. As Duke Hugh came to years of discretion and gradually regained the position won by his father, he quickly realised the importance of the Norman alliance, in spite of the fact that after a few years of unhappy married life his sister Emma was glad to leave her faithless husband. It was thanks to Richard's steady support that the duke was able at last (987) to seize the crown of the Franks from the weak Carolingian Louis v. Strong in his alliance with the Capetian king, Richard was careful for the future to play the part of a civilised Christian. He took measures so to govern his unruly people that there might be no further excuse for casting against him the taunt of 'Captain of the Pirates.' On the whole he was successful, save that in 991 he could not restrain his people from buying the plunder from the pirates who were ravaging the English coasts, and we find King Ethelred remonstrating with him for giving refuge to these pirates. His long reign came to an end at last in 996—four years before the predicted end of the world. The chronicles tell us that Richard died of 'the lesser apoplexy, in the fifty-third of his reign, and the sixty-fourth of his age.'

That, as a man, Richard was great-hearted and noble—in spite of his court panegyrists—no one would nowadays attempt to assert. But that he was an extraordinarily supple and successful statesman no one will deny. When he succeeded his father at the age of ten he found his people an ill-assorted collection of Norsemen—pagan or Christian—with a strong substratum of Frank and Gallic peasantry. Norse was the popular tongue of the people: their manners were rude; civilisation had hardly touched the majority; for settled life and the organisation of national politics they had so far shown no aptitude; what order they had was based on the military and naval discipline of a pirate band. Their neighbours regarded

them as the temporary despoilers of a conquered country rather than a part of the body politic of the Carolingian kingdom of the West. When Richard died the situation was very different. The people of Normandy had entirely adopted the Gallic tongue : their local and ducal government was superior to that of any state of the West : they had assimilated and converted to their own use the principles of feudalism in such a way that, while they had become a strong military power, their peasantry was freer and better off than that of any of their neighbours : while they were now accepted as the most loyal and steadfast supporters of the newly-raised dynasty of Paris, and their duke was the first and greatest feudatory of the French king.

That this vast change was effected purely by the statesmanship of the duke would be too bold an assertion. Richard was indeed fortunate in his times. The long struggle between the German and the Gaul for the leadership of France came to an issue in his age, and it was mainly owing to the steady support of the Duke of Paris that the Northmen were recognised as part of the body politic of the western kingdom. 'Their presence was endured because they were too strong to be got rid of,' and because the Duke of Paris could never have risen above his compeers without their support. As Professor Freeman puts it, 'It was the Normans who made Gaul French ; it was the Normans who made French Paris the capital of Gaul, and who gave Gaul the French lord of Paris for her king. On the other hand, it was the Capetian Revolution which gave Normandy its definite position in Gaul and in Europe.'

Still, we must allow that it was the clever handling of this state of affairs by Duke Richard which brought about the desired result. As regards the internal administration of the duchy, the work was entirely Richard's. In



his own career he personified the changes which took place in his reign. The son of a Norse father and a Breton mother, he was by instinct and training a Norseman: yet he gradually dropped the Danish tongue and affected that of the French. A pagan at heart he saw the immense advantage to be derived from outwardly preferring Christianity. His magnificent minster attached to the ducal palace at Fécamp, and the famous house of Saint Michael in Peril of the Sea (Mont St. Michel), illustrate the importance he attached to the reputation of being a Christian. They form a striking contrast to his father's notions on the subject. William Longsword was content with a little chapel made out of the rubble which was over from the building of his palace. The depth of Richard's religious principles can easily be seen by the number of his marriage connections, 'Danico more,' and by his toleration of the sensual Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen. Still, little as he was a Christian at heart, he had a great sense of the importance of due order and solemnity in things religious. His illegitimate son, Robert, Hugh's successor in the see of Rouen, was most carefully trained as a clerk. It was during his reign that the famous Cluniac abbey of Bec was established, whence he obtained the monks for his new foundation of Fécamp. Though illiterate, he to some extent fostered learning, and invited Dudo, a canon of St. Quentin, to write a panegyric on his house.

He provided for the security of the ducal throne by the careful way in which he granted lands to his numerous sons, and his half brother. The right of succession of Richard the Good, his eldest son by his Danish wife Gunnor—sister-in-law of the Forester of Arques—was never challenged. The new duke came to the throne surrounded by a body of famous kinsmen—Rudolf, Count of Ivry, the son of the widow of William Longsword, by the miller



Sperling : his own half-brothers, Robert the Archbishop ; William, called the Bastard of Normandy ; Geoffrey, the ancestor of the Earls of Clare. Richard's daughters all married well : Maud became Countess of Tours, Blois and Champagne ; Havissa, Duchess of Brittany ; Emma, twice Queen Regnant of England. Meanwhile in the country there was springing into being a sturdy lesser nobility like the Tancreds of Hauteville, so soon to be of European renown ; while the peasantry were so far advanced that when they revolted at the beginning of the new duke's reign, they had leaders of sufficient political intelligence to form a 'commune' : the word which we find applied later to the important corporations of Rouen and London.

Thus it was that the bold, pleasant-mannered libertine laid the foundation of that state, whose political influence on modern Europe it is almost impossible to exaggerate ; for who can say what would have been the course of history if there had been no Capetian dynasty in France, no Norman conquest of England, no re-establishment of the Papacy, no Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily, no crusades and no Latin Empire of the East ?

## HILDEBRAND, POPE GREGORY VII

THE life of Richard the Fearless plainly exemplified the causes which had led to the dissolution of the Roman Empire, re-established by Charlemagne. Lack of administrative organisation, absence of identity of interest among the different peoples of the empire, difficulty of communication, and want of capacity in the holder of the Imperial office had resulted in political chaos. The fierce incursions of Dane, Saracen and Magyar, had broken down what remained of the old system of local self-government. They had forced the various people who comprised the empire to seek safety under the banners of their local counts and dukes, and had thus accentuated the growth of feudalism as a system of government and of military service. The growth of feudalism varied no doubt in different portions of the empire; it was certainly more fully developed in France than in Germany. In that country, from 919 to 1024, there succeeded to the Carolingians a line of Saxon kings of strong personality and great ability. The first of these, Henry the Fowler, was never emperor. But it was thanks to his policy that his son Otto I., who succeeded him in 936, had been able so far to strengthen himself in his own dominion that he had gradually extended his influence into Italy. In 962 Otto was strong enough to have himself crowned as emperor by Pope John XII.

The policy of the Saxon emperors was twofold: first to protect their domains by a ring of Marks or military

settlements, the most famous of which were the Ost Mark—the later Oesterreich or Austria—and the Alt Mark and Neu Mark of Brandenburg, from whence sprang the kingdom of Prussia; secondly, to call in the aid of ecclesiastics to help to govern their vast domains. As in England, the unity of the Church was to become the pattern of the unity in the state. But Otto found out to his cost that ‘the German Church was not self-contained or self-sufficing. Over the German Church ruled the Roman pope. He could only secure the obedience of the German Church by securing the submission or co-operation of the head of the Christian world.’

In Italy the Carolingian line of kings had also died out. In the middle of the tenth century the crown was claimed by Lothaire, son of King Hugh of Provence, and by Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea. Meanwhile the Papacy was at the depth of its degradation. ‘The Roman pontiffs of the ninth and tenth centuries were insulted, imprisoned and murdered by their tyrants (the Roman nobles), and such was their indigence, after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, that they could neither support the state of prince nor exercise the charity of priest.’ Theodora and Marozia, two Roman ladies of high birth, for long controlled the Roman Church. ‘The bastard son, grandson, and the great grandson of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of St. Peter.’ It was the second of these, Pope John XII., who called in Otto to his aid, hoping to rid himself of King Berengar, who had defeated his rival and who, as King of Italy, looked with ill-favour on the attempt of Pope John to re-establish the temporal power of the Papacy in central Italy. The pope soon found that he had delivered himself into the hands of a hard taskmaster. While the newly crowned emperor confirmed the claims of the pope to the patrimony of St. Peter, he distinctly reserved the

imperial supremacy over the Papacy. He decreed that no pope could be consecrated until he had taken the oath of fealty to the emperor. Later he proceeded to put his claim into practice, and deposed the evil-living Pope John XII., and had a nominee of his own elected in his place.

For the moment it seemed as if Otto had gained what he required. With complete control of the Papacy he remoulded the German Church to his will, and reigned securely over both Germany and Italy. But the connection between Italy and Germany was to be the bane of the empire. With the machinery of government of that day and the difficulties of communication, it was almost more than one man's task to rule Germany, but with Italy added it became impossible. There nearly always lay a choice between sacrificing Germany to Italy or Italy to Germany. With the exception of Otto III., the policy of the Saxon emperors was to subordinate Italy to Germany, the Papacy to the empire, and to use the Church as a department of government.

During the early years of the eleventh century there was a great revival of religious feeling throughout the world. The revival started from below. Although the Saxon emperors stopped some of the worst abuses of papal elections, with the exception of Otto III., they were not very particular as to the moral character of the pope, as long as they found in him a pliant tool. Thus it was that except Bruno, the kinsman of Otto III., known as Pope Gregory V., and Gerbert, the famous scholar, known as Sylvester II., there was no man of mark among the successors of St. Peter. Indeed, at the beginning of the eleventh century, under the evil influence of the Counts of Tusculum, the Papacy became as degenerate as it had been under the nominees of Marozia. Meanwhile, as long as the Church was submissive to the emperor, Henry II., the last Saxon, and Conrad II., the first Franconian

emperor, were too much occupied in maintaining their position in Germany to trouble much about the lives or private characters of the various popes. But in 1039 there came to the Imperial throne the Emperor Henry III. Henry had been crowned King of Germany and Burgundy during the lifetime of his predecessor, and there was practically no opposition to his ascent to the throne. Within two years he compelled the Duke of Bohemia to do him homage, defeated the Hungarians, and forced them to sue for peace. By stern measures he suppressed the right of private war between the vassals of his kingdom. By 1046 he had so firmly established his position in Germany that he could think about crossing the Alps and receiving the Imperial crown. But the question that at once arose was by whom should he be crowned. There were no less than three rival popes. A sovereign like Henry who was thoroughly imbued with the religious spirit of the Cluniac movement, and who had striven to suppress simony and disorder in the Church in his own dominions, could not receive the Imperial crown from the hands of a simoniacal pope.

The three popes were Benedict IX., who, in 1033, at the age of twelve, had been elevated to the chair of St. Peter by the Counts of Tusculum; Sylvester III., elected pope in 1044 by the citizens of Rome, in their utter disgust at the sacrileges of Benedict; and Gregory VI., who in the same year bought the Papacy from the reinstated Benedict, who sold it, either from sheer greed of money, or as some say from the desire to marry his cousin. Gregory VI., as John Gratian, had been arch-presbyter. He was a man of some learning and of irreproachable life: he had used his great wealth to purchase the Papacy with the hope of restoring the position of the Head of the Church. But his attempts to regain the property of the see, to rebuild the churches and to re-establish ecclesiastical discipline,



failed; and the Counts of Tusculum brought back their old nominee Benedict.

The situation was impossible, and Peter, the Archdeacon of Rome, after summoning a meeting of the bishops, clergy, monks and laity, hastened to Germany to invoke the aid of King Henry. At a synod held at Sutri in the presence of the king, Pope Gregory degraded Sylvester, and then proceeded to declare his own simony and degraded himself. Two days later another synod was held at St. Peter's, and Benedict also was degraded. The nomination of the new pope lay in the king's hands: he chose Suidger, Bishop of Bremen, a man of unquestioned piety, and himself led him to the papal chair, where he was acclaimed pope by universal assent under the title of Clement II. On the next day—Christmas Day 1046—Henry and his wife received the Imperial crown at the hands of the new pope. It seemed as if the policy of the Saxon emperors was at last complete. A German king had received the Imperial crown from the hands of a German pope nominated by himself.

While the new pope was busily engaged ordaining bishops, punishing simony and restoring the temporal, ecclesiastical and spiritual prestige of the Papacy, his predecessor, Gregory VI., was wending his way to Germany in the train of the emperor. With him there went his chaplain, the monk Aldobrandini, better known as Hildebrand. The chaplain, a man in the prime of his life, had been born at Rovaco, near Soana, a small Tuscan town not far distant from Orbitello. To the outward eye there was little to call for attention in the small ungainly monk whose dull complexion and feeble voice were only relieved by a bright piercing eye, which alone betrayed his restless activity and unconquerable spirit. But the son of the Bonzio, the village carpenter, had already attracted the notice of those whose business it was to study the character



of men. Educated by his maternal uncle, the Abbot of St. Mary's on the Aventine, he had early acquired a particular veneration for the Virgin Mary, and as soon as he had arrived at manhood had taken the cowl. The monastery of St. Mary on the Aventine was the place where the Abbot of Clugny resided when he visited Rome ; it was also the retreat of Laurentius, the pious and scholarly Bishop of Amalfi. Thus it was that at an early age Hildebrand was brought into contact with all that was best in the learned and spiritual world of the Church. Legend says that when still a mere boy, Odilo, the founder of the celebrated monastery of Clugny, had seen sparks issuing from Hildebrand's clothing ; and had predicted that he, like John the Baptist, would ' be great in the sight of the Lord.'

To one whose intellect led to asceticism, who saw in the conquest of the flesh the sure way to the victory of the spirit, nothing could have been more repugnant than the general social condition of the Church in Rome under the Tusculan popes. The clergy lived in open concubinage, gross sensual sin was rife, the only road to preferment lay through simony, the riches of the Church were devoted to worldly pleasures, and the material as well as the moral fabric of the Church lay in ruins. It is little wonder then that Hildebrand, finding his high aspirations treated with scorn, determined to seek in the monastery that peace of the soul which he found himself unable to obtain in the worldly atmosphere of Rome. But a vision which he had of St. Peter commanding him to return to his appointed sphere of duty appealed to his mysticism, and the young monk braced himself to face his appointed task. His friend and adviser, the Bishop of Amalfi, introduced him to the notice of John Gratian, who was collecting round himself all those who longed for better things. Whether the specious plea of doing evil that good might arise from

it convinced Hildebrand, for the time, of the expediency of purchasing the Papacy, it is impossible to say. Anyhow, he was faithful in good fortune and in bad to Pope Gregory VI. As he journeyed northwards with the fallen pope, reviewing the situation, he must have been quick to recognise the outstanding fact that, as long as the Papacy was under the control of the temporal power, so long was there no guarantee that the highest spiritual office on earth should be occupied by one who was worthy of the dignity. In an age when everything depended on brute force, the necessary corollary to this was that the Papacy should become a great temporal power independent of the emperor.

Hildebrand's sojourn in Germany came to an end early in 1048, when the ex-pope died. Thereafter he returned to his beloved retreat of Clugny, but his period of rest was short. The Italian climate was fatal to the lives of the German popes: Clement II. and Damasus II. died in quick succession. In August 1048 the emperor was again asked to nominate a pope, and his choice fell on his kinsman, Bruno, Bishop of Toul. Bruno had accepted, as a divine call, the bishopric of Toul in his twenty-third year, because his selection had been the unanimous choice of clergy and people, and because the see was poor. His success at Toul had resulted in the checking of simony and the reformation of the monasteries after the pattern of Clugny. He had moreover rendered great political service to the emperor in his quarrels with his most formidable opponent, Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia, and in his negotiations with the King of France. The emperor therefore was nominating as pope the best spiritual statesman of the day. But unfortunately, the more conscientiously the emperor acted, the more he hurried on the great struggle which was already impending between the temporal and the spiritual power.

Bruno spent the three days after his nomination in prayer

and fasting, and then only accepted on the condition that his appointment should be ratified by the free choice of the clergy and people of Rome. He set out for Italy as a humble pilgrim, stopping on his way through Burgundy at Clugny. There, at the suggestion of Hugh, the prior, he constrained Hildebrand to join his fortunes. Hildebrand, if one is to believe his letters, consented to do so with great reluctance. It was only admiration for Bruno's attitude towards the emperor, and for his determination to owe the papal tiara to the election of the clergy and people of Rome, which tore him from the monastery. When the Romans saw Bruno walking barefoot into the city, their shouts of admiration left no doubt of their approval; on February 12th, 1049, he was consecrated pope as Leo IX.

One of the new pope's first acts was to make Hildebrand cardinal-archdeacon. Hildebrand at once set to work to replenish the papal exchequer. The nobles of Benevento and a rich Jew, Benedict, supplied the immediate necessities; and meanwhile the indefatigable cardinal-archdeacon, by judicious flattery here, and timely presents there, won over all sections of the populace to the new pope. It was not only the details of administration which Hildebrand learned from his position of right-hand man. Pope Leo in his synods and by personally visiting the churches abroad was adding enormously to the prestige of the Papacy, and paving the way to its assertion of world-wide power. To commence with, he concentrated his attention on attempting to stamp out simony, on enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, and on maintaining unity of doctrine in the Church. These three objects once attained, he might then go on to the question of the right of the lay power to investiture. With this in view the pope and his friend visited Germany and France. The emperor met Leo at Cologne; but King Henry of France, jealous of external interference in his kingdom, refused to attend the Great

Council held at Rheims, where two bishops were deposed for simony, and others excommunicated for failing to attend the council.

On his return to Rome the pope held a synod at Easter 1050. At this synod Berengar of Tours was condemned for teaching the doctrine of the Real Presence at the Holy Eucharist, in contradistinction to the recognised doctrine of the Church which taught material transubstantiation: that is, that the elements were changed from bread and wine into actual body and blood. But the question was not finally settled at the synod, and in 1054 Hildebrand was sent as papal legate to compose the strife which Berengar's doctrine had provoked in the Church in France. Hildebrand himself sympathised with Berengar, and perhaps even inclined to his doctrine. But his belief in the necessity of the omnipotence and consequent omniscience of the Papacy forced him to uphold the pope and the council. During his journey northwards he persuaded himself of the rightness of his action, and was often heard to mutter, 'Invincible are the faith and arms of Rome,' and to recite from the Psalm, 'Blessed are they who keep His testimonies and seek Him with their whole heart.' At Tours, the stronghold of the heretics, Hildebrand summoned a council, and extorted from Berengar an ambiguous avowal of the belief, that the bread and wine actually become the body and blood of Christ by consecration.

From France the successful legate was hastily recalled by the news that the pope was a prisoner in the hands of the Normans. The men of Normandy had originally been called into southern Italy in 1017 by Meles, a Lombard of Bari, who was rebelling against the eastern empire. The first settlement was in 1030, when Sergius, the Prince of Naples, who had bought Norman swords to defend the possessions of the eastern empire in Italy, granted to Ranulf, the leader of the mercenaries, the town of Aversa. From that

time onwards the Normans no longer came in isolated bands to sell their swords to the highest bidder, but sought to carve out principalities for themselves. In 1038 three sons of Tancred of Hauteville left their father's small estate in the Cotentin to join their kinsmen in Italy. Their names were William of the Iron Arm, Drogo, and Humphrey. In 1046 William of the Iron Arm, who had become Norman Lord of Apulia with Melfi as his capital, died. His brother Drogo succeeded him, and a fourth brother, Robert Guiscard, came to Italy. Robert was to become the founder of a new kingdom and a leader of the crusaders. In 1052 the Emperor Henry granted the duchy of Benevento to the papal see. In May of the next year the pope with a motley army proceeded southwards to take possession of his new territories. The Normans were not prepared to give up the country which they now regarded as their own, and their small but highly-trained force easily defeated the papal arms at Civitate in June. The conquerors treated the head of the Church with every respect, and liberated him after nine months' honourable captivity. While a prisoner, the pope carried on a heated correspondence with Michael Caerulius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, as to the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and on the question of which of them was universal bishop. Leo left Benevento for Rome to die there on April 19th, 1054.

When Hildebrand arrived in Rome, the first and most vital question was the choice of the new pope. With the Norman question still unsettled it was no time, even if it had been politic, to quarrel with a man of such sterling qualities and such devotion to the Church as the Emperor Henry III. Accordingly, the cardinal-archdeacon used his influence, and was appointed by the clergy and people of Rome to lead a deputation to the German court to request the emperor to nominate a successor to Leo. Henry nominated Gebhard of Eichstadt, a man in the prime of



life, wealthy, high principled, and skilled in political and ecclesiastical affairs. The new pope took the title of Victor II. His pontificate was short, as he died in 1057. During his reign Hildebrand's influence continued to increase.

Meanwhile an event occurred which brought about an entire change in the political situation of the empire. In 1056 the great Emperor Henry III. died at the age of thirty-nine, and left as his successor his son Henry. This boy, then only six years old, was immediately crowned at Aachen by Pope Victor. A long minority was nearly always fatal to the authority of the crown in mediæval times, and the case of Henry IV. was no exception to the rule. For the next twenty years Germany was rent by rebellion. Meanwhile in Italy the opponents of the Imperial power at once showed their heads. The leaders of opposition to Henry III. both in Italy and Germany had been the dukes of Lotharingia or Lorraine. Duke Godfrey had strengthened his position by marrying Beatrice, the widow of the Count of Tuscany. One of King Henry's last acts had been to capture Beatrice and her children, as he could not allow Duke Godfrey to administer Tuscany. Nothing better exemplifies the change caused by the death of Henry III. than the fact that Duke Godfrey returned to Italy with the pope, after the coronation of the young king, as chief representative of the Imperial power, and the guardian of his step-daughter Matilda, who, by the death of her mother, had inherited the fief of Tuscany. Pope Victor was succeeded by Duke Godfrey's brother, Frederic, Abbot of Mount Cassino, as Stephen IX. On Stephen's death in the following year the Counts of Tusculum terrorised Rome and placed on the papal chair one of the Crescentii, as Benedict X. But Hildebrand saved the situation. With the aid of Duke Humphrey the reforming party among the cardinals



chose as pope Gerhard, Bishop of Florence, a Burgundian by birth, a Cluniac by policy. Supported by the troops of Duke Godfrey and the Countess Matilda, Gerhard, under the title of Nicolas II., drove out Benedict and entered Rome as orthodox pope.

Pope Nicolas nominated Hildebrand as Archdeacon, and during all his pontificate allowed him to act as his chief minister. And well he might, for Hildebrand, by his astute policy, had proclaimed to the world that the Church was no longer necessarily dependent on the emperor for support against its material foes. During the three years of Nicolas' pontificate he worked hard to secure this position. Strong in the loyalty of the Countess Matilda, with the emperor a minor and the regents ecclesiastics, too occupied in Germany to turn their attention to Italy, even if they had dared to controvert the action of the head of the Church, Hildebrand seized the opportunity of so ordering the papal elections that, in future, there should be no necessity to call in foreign intervention. A synod was held at the Lateran in 1059, and a decree was drawn up setting aside the vague claim of the Roman clergy and people to choose the pontiff, and placing the election in the hands of the seven cardinal bishops of the suburbicarian dioceses. These cardinal bishops were to call in to their aid the cardinal priests and deacons, whose assent was to represent that of the clergy and people. It was also laid down as a general rule that, when possible, a Roman clerk was to be preferred if worthy. The right of King Henry and his successors to confirm the appointment was reserved, but in a way which suggested that it was rather a compliment than an immemorial legal due. The wisdom of the scheme is seen in the fact that, though details have been altered at various times, the legal right of the cardinals to choose the pope has never since been challenged. Further, though it did not prevent the appearance of anti-popes, still by

embodying custom it gave these interlopers the condemnation of illegality.

The most pressing necessity was to arrange a *modus vivendi* with the Normans: these capable soldiers and administrators were eating up southern Italy. Roger of Hauteville, the youngest son of Tancred, had arrived, and by the aid of his brother Robert had carved out for himself a principality in Calabria. Robert Guiscard was now Lord of Apulia and part of Calabria, and Richard of Aversa had driven the Lombards out of Capua. There was no longer any question of the possibility of expelling the Normans from the country; moreover, they did not show themselves hostile to the Church. Hildebrand therefore persuaded Nicolas to treat them as friends, not as foes. He pointed out the gain that would arise to the Papacy, in times of difficulty, from having at its back the first soldiers in the world. Nicolas accordingly allowed his archdeacon to go and negotiate with the Normans. The result was that, in the summer of 1059, the pope himself attended a synod at Melfi, the Apulian capital. There, after passing canons condemning the marriage of priests, he proceeded to business of another nature. At Hildebrand's suggestion he solemnly granted to Robert Guiscard the dukedoms of Apulia and Calabria, and the kingdom of Sicily also, if he could conquer it from the Moors; and to Richard of Aversa he granted the dukedom of Capua. None of these territories belonged to him, and he had no right to grant them; still the recipients in return for their titles to these lands agreed to hold them as the pope's vassals, paying an annual rent of twelve pence for each ploughland. The importance of this new alliance cannot be overrated, for by binding to itself the strongest military power in Italy, the Holy See was enabled to wield the temporal sword with almost as much effect as the spiritual. It was, in effect, the foundation stone of the vast papal

edifice which Hildebrand had long been planning in his mind.

On July 27th, 1061, Nicolas II. died, and the nobles of Rome, in defiance of the newly laid down regulations for papal elections, at once sent to the young King Henry, asking him to nominate a new pope. Meanwhile, Hildebrand and his party held their hand, waiting to see if they could depend on their allies, Duke Godfrey, the Countess Matilda, and the Normans. On October 1st, after Hildebrand had called the cardinals together, they elected Anselm of Lucca, a man of good family—educated at Bec by Lanfranc, future Archbishop of Canterbury—a passionat e opponent of simony and clerical marriage. Escorted by Norman troops Anselm was enthroned pope under the title of Alexander II. There were signs, however, that the election would be challenged. The Norman troops were unpopular in Rome; the new pope was detested by the Lombards, who disliked papal interference and the attempt to impose celibacy on the clergy; and the Imperial court was sure, if it saw a chance, to try to regain its old control of papal elections. At the end of the month a synod, summoned by the Empress Agnes, in the name of her son, and attended by the envoys of the Roman nobles and a large number of Lombard and German bishops, annulled the election of Alexander and appointed Cadalus, Bishop of Parma, as pope under the title of Honorius II. Soon Rome itself was the scene of a struggle between the rival pontiffs. There followed a distressing time when to Hildebrand it must have seemed as if his life work lay shattered.

It was thanks to a revolution in Germany that Alexander was at last recognised as pope. Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, by a *coup-de-main* seized the regency, and, to strengthen his position, threw in his lot with Hildebrand's party. But in 1065 Hanno was supplanted by his rival

Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, and it seemed as time went on as if the only hope of a settlement must come from a visit of Henry, who was now of age, to Italy. This visit Hildebrand opposed with all his might, as he still clung to the hope of making the Papacy an independent power. The decision was wise; the anti-pope with no official aid became a mere nonentity. Year by year Alexander, thanks to Hildebrand's cleverness, became stronger; and at last, in 1070, he was able to demonstrate his power by making an example of those who notoriously defied the decrees of simony and clerical marriage. Archbishops Siegfried and Hanno, and the Bishop of Bamberg were summoned to Rome, convicted of simony, and sent home after begging for pardon in humiliating terms.

In 1072 the anti-pope Honorius died, and the following year he was followed to the grave by his rival, Pope Alexander. Hildebrand at once proclaimed a three days' fast and prayer. Throughout the city, until the funeral obsequies of the late pope were celebrated, there was unwonted tranquillity. But scarcely had the coffin been placed in the grave when the multitude burst into the Lateran Church, shouting, 'Let Hildebrand be bishop.' Hildebrand strove to quiet the tumult, but Cardinal Hugh pushed to the front and gained the ear of the mob. 'Brethren,' he said, 'you know how since the days of Leo IX. Hildebrand hath exalted the Holy Roman Church, and delivered our city from bondage. As it is impossible to find a better man, or indeed his equal, we elect him who has been ordained in our Church, and is well known and thoroughly approved amongst us.' With shouts of 'St. Peter wills Hildebrand to be pope,' he was carried protesting to the church of St. Peter ad Vincula, and there elected by the cardinals amidst the acclamation of the people and clergy—'as a man eminent in piety and learning, a lion of equity and justice, firm in calamity,

temperate in prosperity, according to the Apostolic precept, "of good behaviour, modest, sober, chaste, hospitable, ruling his house well," brought up and taught from boyhood within the bosom of this our Church, already for his merits advanced to the office of archdeacon, whom now and henceforth we will to be called Gregory, Pope, and Apostolic Primate.'

The event had come which the newly created pope must have long foreseen. But, now that the opportunity had arrived, he recognised more clearly than ever the difficulties which beset his heart's desire—the reformation of the world by means of the universal monarchy of the Pápacy, and he spent five days in retirement, in prayer, and in writing for the prayers of his friends.

Politically the situation was threatening. In spite of the rules drawn up by himself, he took no steps to seek confirmation of his election at the hands of King Henry ; and that monarch, while he did not oppose the election, never confirmed it. Meanwhile the Normans were hostile. The Hauteville brothers attacked Richard of Capua, the faithful vassal of the Papacy. Robert Guiscard went so far as to incur excommunication for threatening the papal possession of Benevento. Hildebrand's great project of sending help to the Emperor Michael VII. failed : for the princes he summoned refused to go. The only reassuring factor was the loyal support of the Countess Matilda, but even her troops mutinied when ordered on the crusade. Then it was that he wrote to the Abbot of Clugny, ' I would have you know the anguish that assails my soul. The Church of the East has gone astray from the Catholic faith. If I look to the west, the north, or the south, I find but few bishops whose appointments and whose lives are in accordance with the law of the Church, or who govern God's people through love and not through worldly ambition. Among princes, I know not one who sets the



honour of God before his own, or justice before gain. If I did not hope that I could be of use to the Church, I would not remain at Rome a day.' But Pope Gregory ever knew the value of boldness, especially in the face of foes whose fatal weakness was want of unity of interest.

In February 1075 he held a synod at Rome, at which, after passing the usual decrees against simony and clerical marriage, he proceeded to attack the practice of lay investiture. Everywhere, but especially in Germany, the sovereigns of the West had attempted to strengthen the royal power by granting great territories to ecclesiastical personages, who were not supposed to be able to found families of their own, and whose interests, they hoped, would thus be closely allied with those of the grantor. This practice of granting bishoprics and abbeys to men chosen by the temporal power, and of conferring the spiritual symbols of the ring and crosier by the lay hand, was regarded by the Cluniac party as a glaring aggression by the temporal on the spiritual power. The decrees of 1075 resulted in a struggle between the Papacy and the empire, which convulsed Europe for the next half century. 'If any one,' so ran the decree, 'hereafter shall receive from the hand of any lay person a bishopric or abbey, let him not be considered as abbot or bishop, and let the favour of St. Peter and the gate of heaven be forbidden to him. If an emperor, a king, a count, or any other person presume to give investiture of any ecclesiastical dignity, let him be excommunicated.' The immediate enforcement of this decree was bound to upset the political stability of nearly all the kingdoms of the West. Opposition came first from Germany: for at the same synod certain German bishops, friends of the king, were excommunicated for simony and non-attendance at the council.

Henry iv. was by now in his twenty-sixth year. He



had had a most unfortunate childhood ; his mother Agnes was a pious but weak woman ; the various regents had each striven to make themselves popular with the young king by pandering to his desires and never attempting to discipline his habits. Consequently his temper was ill-controlled and his character undeveloped. Very soon after reaching manhood he married Bertha of Burgundy, only to repent of it and seek to divorce her. Meanwhile, as we have said before, the long minority had weakened the prestige of the crown. It would have required the greatest tact and firmness to have controlled the haughty and self-willed magnates who too long had had their own way. No sooner had Henry taken the reins of government into his own hands, than trouble began which culminated in 1073 in the open revolt of the Saxons. After a two years' struggle Henry came victorious out of this difficulty. Flushed with his success against the Saxons, he at once took up the gauntlet thrown down by the pope. He bestowed the bishoprics of Spoleto and Parma on Germans, and made Tedald, a Milanese of high birth, long resident in Germany, Archbishop of Milan. Gregory replied by forbidding the suffragans of Milan to consecrate Tedald upon pain of excommunication. He also wrote to the king, saying he could not give him his apostolic blessing, if he persisted in associating himself with men under the ban of the Church. The whole tone of the letter was friendly, but a strong verbal warning was sent to the king that, if he persisted in his conduct, he would be excommunicated at the Lent synod.

Henry was still elated with his victory over the Saxons, and determined to bring matters to a head. Summoning his council at Worms, to which twenty-four German bishops came, he laid the matter before them. The bishops thereon drew up a letter informing Hildebrand

that they would no longer obey him, alleging his despotic government and his informal election without the consent of the head of the empire. The king himself wrote a strong letter calling Gregory 'no pope but false monk,' telling him Christ had never called him to the priesthood, that the German bishops had condemned him, and ending with the words, 'Come down, come down.'

Meanwhile, at Rome, the pope's enemies had attempted to take his life. One of the nobles, by name Cencius, got together an armed party, and burst in on him while he was keeping the vigil of Christmas Day at the church of San Maria Maggiore. Gregory escaped with his life: a blow aimed at his head failed, as his assailant's foot slipped. He was, however, wounded on the chest. Stripped of his robes, he was thrown across a horse, and hurried off to a strong tower belonging to Cencius. But no sooner was the news spread through the town than the mob rose in arms and besieged the tower. Cencius flung himself at the pope's feet, imploring mercy. Gregory, who had never lost his self-possession, replied, 'Thy injuries to myself I freely pardon: thy sin against the Lord, His Mother, His Apostle, His Church, must be expiated. Go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and if thou returnest alive surrender thyself to me that I may decide how thou mayest be reconciled to God.' Cencius and his wife then fled from Rome, not on a pilgrimage, but to Lombardy, to plot with the pope's enemies. Meanwhile this dastardly attack enormously increased Gregory's popularity in Rome.

Such was the state of affairs in Rome when Roland, a priest of Parma, arrived with the king's letter. The Lent synod was held on February 21st in the Lateran Church. There were present the Empress Agnes and a great multitude of Italian and French bishops. When Roland entered the assembly, he cried out to Gregory, 'The

king and our bishops bid thee come down from the chair of St. Peter, which thou hast gained by robbery.' Then addressing the cardinals he added, 'Ye are bidden to raise another pope by the king who will come hither at Pentecost : for this man is no pope but a ravening wolf.' If Gregory had not himself protected him, the envoy would have been torn to pieces. On the next day, in spite of a contrite letter from some of the German bishops, excommunication was passed on all who had signed the act of the council, and also on the bishops of Lombardy. Then came the reply direct to King Henry. 'In the honour and security of the Church, in the name of the Almighty Triune God, I do prohibit Henry, king, son of Henry the emperor, from ruling the kingdom of the Teutons and of Italy, and I relieve all Christians from the oath of allegiance to him, which they have taken, or shall take. And inasmuch as he has despised obedience by associating with the excommunicated, by many deeds of iniquity, and by spurning the warnings which I have given him for his good, I bind him in the bands of anathema : that all nations may know that thou art Peter, and upon this rock the Son of the living God hath built His Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

The die was cast : at last the Church had proclaimed itself superior to the temporal power. For the moment men were more surprised at the hardihood of the king in attempting to depose the pope than at the fact that the pope had deposed the king. The mysterious and awful sanctity of the papal office was universally felt and acknowledged : moreover, men then believed that the Imperial crown had been granted originally to Charlemagne by the pope ; if it was his to bestow was it not his to take away ? While if the king-emperor could at his will depose the pope, the Church was nothing but an inflated baronage of the crown.

Each side at once took steps to refer the matter to force, for in this world even the spiritual power must carry out its aims by material means. The pope increased his military strength at Rome, entered into negotiations with Robert Guiscard and Roger Hauteville, stirred up the Paterini, the enemies of the Lombard bishops, and appealed to the loyalty of his friend the Countess Matilda. Henry on his side had not the same good fortune. The Saxons profited by his difficulties and at once revolted: the Cluniac movement had made itself widely felt through Germany. Saint and zealot armed themselves against the king; only self-seekers and simoniacs took his side; the secular nobility who hated his tyranny stood apart and watched events. The Bishop of Metz, the papal legate in Germany, organised a coalition against the king; and, in October, a meeting of the nobles and bishops of Germany took place at Tribur. Henry was forced to listen to the terms there offered him, which were that he was to remain at Speyer without kingly revenues, power, or dignity, until the pope arrived in Germany in the following February, to decide what was to be done to him. There was nothing for it but to accept these conditions.

During December, however, news arrived that the Imperial party was gaining ground: moreover, Henry recognised that he could do nothing with the refractory nobles until he had made his peace with the pope. He accordingly thought that he would steal a march on them by hastening to Italy, hoping to appear at the head of a force which might compel the pope to take up a less inexorable attitude. The winter was terribly severe. After keeping Christmas at Besançon with his wife and child and a single German noble, he struggled over the Mont Cenis Pass at the risk of his life. In spite of the entreaties of his partisans he judged that he was not strong enough to fight, and accordingly determined to win

back his kingdom by throwing himself on the mercy of Gregory.

When the news of Henry's arrival in Italy reached the papal headquarters, the pope, at the advice of his friends, retired to Canossa, the impregnable fortress of Countess Matilda, perched on a spur of the Apennines about fifteen miles from Reggio. Henry arrived at Canossa on January 21st, 1077, in severe weather; the snow lay deep on the ground, and he was forced to find a lodging at the bottom of the rock on which the castle stood. There he had an interview with the Countess Matilda and Hugh, Abbot of Clugny. For three days negotiations were carried on, but in spite of the entreaties of the countess and the abbot, Gregory would listen to no terms until Henry had surrendered his crown into his hands. This the king refused to do, but determined instead to play the part of a penitent suppliant. For three consecutive days, in the terrible cold, he stood shivering outside the castle gate, barefoot and clad in a coarse woollen shirt, in vain knocking for admittance. Then at last, satisfied that the king had drained the cup of humiliation to the dregs, the pope consented to listen to terms. The cardinal legates on the pope's behalf met three Imperial bishops, the Abbot of Clugny and several distinguished laymen acting for the king.

The terms were hard. The king was to attend a meeting of the German nobles presided over by the pope, where his innocence or guilt would be decided; for the present he was to lay aside all insignia of royalty, and abstain from all kingly functions. If he broke any of these conditions another king would forthwith be elected. The terms had to be accepted. Then the castle gate was thrown open, and the unhappy king was conveyed into the papal presence. With the cry, 'Holy father, spare me!' Henry threw himself at Gregory's feet, who raised him up, absolved



him, and after entertaining him kindly sent him away with much good advice.

Dramatic as was the scene at Canossa, it decided nothing. For the moment, perhaps, the harshness of the pope caused some sympathy for the king, but this was counter-balanced by the feeling expressed by many Imperial partisans that the king had shown himself a coward. Meanwhile the German nobles met at Forchheim in March, without the presidency of the pope, for Henry refused after all to give him a safe conduct through northern Italy. Although not a really representative assembly, the diet proceeded to depose Henry, and elected in his stead Duke Rudolf of Swabia. There followed three years of civil war. At last, in January 1080, Henry was completely defeated at Flarcheim. Meanwhile, in spite of the fact that during all these years Henry had practised lay investiture as freely as before, Gregory had done nothing. But in March 1080, yielding to the remonstrances of Rudolf, he convoked a synod at Rome, where he renewed the excommunication and act of deposition on Henry. 'Act so,' he said to the assembled prelates, 'that the world shall know that ye who have power to bind and loose in heaven, can grant or withhold kingdoms, principalities, and other possessions according to each man's merits. And if ye are fit to judge spiritual things, ought ye not to be competent to judge in things temporal?' Thereafter the pope recognised Rudolf as king, and passed a universal prohibition against lay investiture.

The decision of the diet had an effect quite opposite to what Gregory had foreseen; for instead of once and for all crushing Henry, it stung him into fresh activity. The deposed king held a meeting of German and Italian bishops three months later, and in turn deposed Gregory and appointed as his successor Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, with the title of Clement III. The unwise prophecy of the



pope, that before next feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29th, 1081) Henry would have lost both his crown and his life, proved entirely false. There were now two popes and two emperors, and the spiritual power being thus divided it was more obvious than ever that the decision rested on the sword alone. For the next four years fortune favoured the excommunicated emperor and anti-pope. In October 1080 Henry was defeated on the bank of the Elster, near the famous battlefield of Lützen, but the defeat turned to gain, for Rudolf was slain in the fight. For a year or more no rival was put forward by the German nobles until Hermann of Luxemburg was elected as Caesar. Thus Henry was free to enter Italy. The Countess Matilda could not, unaided, withstand him, and for the moment the Normans refused to help Gregory. In May 1081 he was thundering at the gates of Rome. But the intrepid Hildebrand, strong in the affection of the Roman people, refused to yield or fly. In the spring of 1082, and again in 1083, Henry reappeared before Rome. But, although Matilda had by now sent him every penny she could, and had melted down the plate of Canossa, and Robert Guiscard was absent campaigning across the Adriatic, the pope stood firm. Even when Henry had captured Tivoli and seized the Leonine city, he would listen to no terms. 'Let the king lay down his crown and make atonement to the Church,' was his only reply to the entreaties of his friends.

The end came at last. Early in the spring of 1084, Henry made a demonstration in Apulia to check the Normans who were beginning to get ready to assist the pope, then hurrying north he reappeared before the gates of Rome. This time the citizens would not face a fourth siege, and opened their gates. Thereon Gregory retired into the castle of St. Angelo. The anti-pope and king summoned a synod, and once again passed sentence of deposition and

excommunication on their enemy. On Palm Sunday Clement III. was enthroned, and on Easter day he crowned Henry emperor in St. Peter's. Their triumph was short, for the Normans were not going to lose their title to their lands. Robert Guiscard hurriedly left his army at Durazzo, crossed the Adriatic, and collecting a mixed force of thirty thousand Normans, Lombards, Apulians and Saracens, advanced on Rome. The emperor could not withstand such a force, and hastily drew off to the north. The Romans attempted to resist, but some traitors opened the gates, and the Norman host rushed in and mercilessly sacked the city. Gregory did what he could, but in spite of his prayers Guiscard either could not or would not control his troops, so half the city was reduced to ruins. The wretched multitude cursed the pope who had called in such an ally. The cruelty of the Normans, as a contemporary wrote, gained more hearts for the emperor than a hundred thousand gold pieces.

With Rome in such a state the pope was bound to follow his deliverers to the south. After some days spent at Monte Cassino, he proceeded with a few cardinals and Roman nobles first to Benevento and then to Salerno. Though broken in health he still retained his fiery spirit. From Salerno he thundered anathemas at King Henry and Clement. He despatched legates to Germany and France, calling on the faithful as they valued their salvation to rally to the call of the Holy Roman Church. Meanwhile, the troops of Matilda were defeated in July by King Henry, the anti-pope held his Christmas at Ravenna, and the Normans were busily engaged across the Adriatic. Still the pope retained his high spirit, though his health was failing fast. But on May 18th he sent for his faithful cardinals, and told them that he had but eight days more to live. He then reviewed his life, telling them that his supreme consolation was the knowledge that he had loved right and

hated wrong. He begged them to dismiss all fear for their own future, as he in the other world would commend their cause to God. At their request he suggested that Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, should be his successor. As regards the excommunicated he said, 'Henry and Guibert, with all who by consent or deed have supported their impious designs, I absolve not: all others I freely bless who hold fast the belief that I exercise this power as the representative of St. Peter and St. Paul.'

On May 25th, 1085, Pope Gregory breathed his last, repeating the words, 'I set no store by what I have done. One thing only fills me with hope. I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity—therefore do I die in exile.' 'Nay,' replied a bishop to the dying pontiff, 'in exile thou canst not die, who, as vicar of Christ and His apostles, hast received the nations of the earth as thy possession.'

In the life of most men and most societies there come times when, to avoid either material or moral ruin, it is necessary to re-examine the principles on which life is based, and, breaking entirely with the past, to set forward on a new object with steadfast concentration. Such we have seen was the case of the western Church at the time that Hildebrand was born. The head of the Church was the unworthy nominee of the Roman nobility: its treasures were scattered; its fabric in ruins; its priests were godless; its monks depraved. It was thanks to the nobility of the Emperor Henry III. that the chair of St. Peter was in time occupied by those who were worthy of it. But to the clear vision of the young monk Hildebrand, the evil though lessened was not eradicated. In his view true holiness could never permeate the whole Church until the Church had submitted to the Papacy and the world to the Church. Recognising what this struggle entailed, he never flinched, never compromised, but year in and year out he fought with every artifice to attain this end. 'Human

pride,' he wrote, 'has created the power of kings; God's mercy has created the power of bishops. The pope is the master of emperors. He is rendered holy by the merits of his predecessor St. Peter. The Roman Church never erred, and Holy Scripture proves that it can never err.'

That he raised the Papacy from the dust, and placed it on the pinnacle where these ideals were materialised into fact, gained for Gregory his title of the Great, and placed him for ever among the famous names of history. It was not only in his long struggle with King Henry that he successfully developed the theory that the 'Pope as spiritual head of the world is above kings.' The Norman conquerors of Sicily recognised that he was their feudal sovereign, although the Norman conquerors of England would listen to no such claim. King Henry was not the only monarch to suffer the papal wrath, for Philip I. of France was denounced by the pope as the most simoniacal, adulterous, and sacrilegious of kings. So clearly had Hildebrand defined the pretensions of the Papacy to rule the world, that for many years his successors' right to excommunicate and depose monarchs was never challenged by the conscience of Europe.

As we have said before, the great secret of Gregory's success lay in his single-mindedness and his desire to do right: but he had many other attributes which we must not overlook. His powers of personal magnetism were enormous. In spite of his puny stature and mean looks he could dominate men to an extraordinary degree. The fanatical monk, Peter Damiani, called him his 'Holy Satan.' While scandalised by the pomp and ceremony which Hildebrand, though a professed monk, thought necessary to assume as Archdeacon of Rome, Peter worshipped him and said to him, 'Thy will has ever been a command to me—evil but lawful. Would that I had always served God and St. Peter as faithfully as I have served thee.' It was this personal magnetism, aided

by a facile tongue and an astute brain, which gained for the Papacy the strong support of the Normans. What did it matter whether the Church had in reality no title to grant the lands of Apulia and Calabria, as long as the Normans were willing in return for this unreal title to pledge their swords to the Church? What mattered his own personal doubts as to the question of transubstantiation, as long as Berengar of Tours recanted, and the division in the Church was healed? 'Invincible are the faith and the arms of Rome': strong in this belief he was ready to do things that were of doubtful morality, if thereby he might attain that which he considered the highest good.

Self-repression and self-restraint were two strong buttresses of his character. For long he remonstrated with Henry on his evil life and his disobedience to the commands of the council on the question of investiture. It was not his own dignity that he was jealous of, but that of his office. It was not till the king showed his contempt for the Papacy by declaring him deposed, that he at last took offensive measures against the crown. So we see him forgiving the personal injury done to him by Cencius, but unrelenting in his punishment of the offence against the successor of St. Peter. In judging Hildebrand we must ever keep this in our minds, his clear distinction between himself and his office: and if we are tempted to think that, at times, personal ambition or pride was the keynote to his action, we must remember how, had he desired it, he might have been pope long before the year 1072. We get a strong confirmation of this view from his letters, which reveal an unaffected piety, an intimate knowledge of Scripture, and a zeal for the advancement of all that is best in life.

But, though we may recognise that the great pope was capable of setting aside all personal animosity, he was after all but human. Granted that it was his zeal for



the Church which constrained him to keep the emperor standing, in deep humiliation for three days outside the gates of Canossa, while no doubt the lesson thus enforced added enormously to the prestige of the Papacy, from another point of view it was bad policy. It embittered the struggle and gave the Imperial party the plea, that the pope was using his high office to vent his private spleen against his enemy. The result was a civil war between Church and state, which did not end until the two great protagonists had ceased to live: in fact it put back all chances of a reasonable compromise for fifty years. It was not till 1121 that a *modus vivendi* was at last established between the temporal and the ecclesiastical powers, when at Worms it was settled, as had been arranged some fifteen years earlier in England, that the investiture by ring and crosier of the spiritual power should be delivered by the Church, but that previous to this ceremony the candidate elect should do homage to the temporal power for his lands.



## PHILIP AUGUSTUS

AT the death of Pope Gregory VII. we saw the Papacy, in spite of its weakness as a temporal power, dominating the whole of western Europe. The empire lay distracted by civil and ecclesiastical warfare, unable to make good, even in Germany and Italy, its claim of representing the unity of society for the protection of all Christians, and the furtherance of the religion of Christ. Outside the nominal border of the empire lay many small feudal states; some owning the pretence of allegiance to superiors such as the kings of France or England, others proudly denying any such obligation. Everything therefore favoured the growth of the papal power, firmly based as it now was on the regenerated monasteries which were thickly scattered over all the West, and on the willing adhesion of the lower classes, who found, in the Church rather than in the king, a strong protector against the harshness and arrogance of the feudal lords.

Ten years after Gregory's death, the religious revival which was then sweeping over all civilised Europe received a sudden impetus. At the very commencement of the eleventh century, a great Tartar power had arisen, which spreading eastward to China had founded a Mongolian dynasty at Peking, and set up a great Turkish state in Afghanistan and India under Mahmoud of Ghazni. Some fifty years later, in 1055, advancing westwards over the Oxus, the Seljukian Tartars under Toghrul Beg had seized Bagdad and adopted the religion of

Mohammed. By 1071 the Tartar hosts under Alp Arslan, the nephew of Torgul, had swept all before them as far as Armenia: in that year they annihilated the forces of the Byzantine Empire at Manzikert and captured the Emperor Romanus iv. It was only the walls of Constantinople which, three years later, saved the Byzantine capital from falling into the hands of the Turks: peace was bought by the cession of all lands now in the hands of the enemy, so that the Eastern empire ceased for the time to be an Asiatic power.

The presence of these fierce Mongols at Jerusalem was brought home to the West by the preaching of Peter the Hermit. During the centuries that the Holy City had been in the hands of the caliphs, there had been no diminution of the streams of pilgrims; and although the mosque of Omar had been built on the site of the old Jewish temple, the Holy Sepulchre and the sacred spots remained in Christian hands. There were of course dangers to be faced by the pilgrim bands, but not insurmountable, only sufficient indeed to give zest to the undertaking. But with the advent of the Seljukian Turks Jerusalem was closed, and the holy places lay in the hands of the infidels. The religious revival that issued from Clugny had greatly stimulated the desire for pilgrimage, and the preaching of Peter the Hermit caused a thrill to pass through all devout Christians. But in spite of this, Pope Gregory was unable to organise any means to reopen the way to Jerusalem. His efforts only ended in the Normans, under Robert Guiscard, attacking the Dalmatian province of the Byzantine Empire. The success of their arms taught the Byzantines that the soldiers of the West were greatly superior to their own. Accordingly the Emperor Alexius, finding himself again threatened by the Turks, determined to seek help from the West. There was no strong kingdom to appeal to, so the crafty Byzantine sent an embassy to

Pope Urban II., entreating him to rescue the Holy City from the hands of the infidels. But all he really desired was protection from his foe, the sultan of the kingdom of Roum.

Pope Urban received Alexius' envoys at Piacenza : soon throughout the West vast crowds were pledging themselves to take the cross and fight against Islam for the recovery of Jerusalem, crying out, ' It is the will of God.' The first crusade was the work of the pope at the instigation of the eastern emperor : its leaders were the greater feudal barons, Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy, Godfrey of Lower Lorraine (better known as of Bouillon), Bohemund, the Italian Norman. The result was the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem : a western feudal state transplanted into eastern territory. At its head was the King of Jerusalem, who had a vague supremacy over the principality of Antioch and the counties of Tripoli and Edessa. The kingdom of Jerusalem was itself composed of twelve great lordships, over which the king had but little power, save in the royal demesnes round Jerusalem, Tyre and Sidon. The successful establishment of this new kingdom was, in no small degree, due to the break up of the Seljukian power, owing to the antagonism of Turk and Arab. But between 1134 and 1140 a new Turkish power arose in Syria under Imad-ed-din Zangi, who in 1141 overran the country of Edessa and threatened the other Latin states. The famous monk St. Bernard preached a fresh crusade. This time the Emperor Conrad III. and King Louis VII. of France took the cross and started with large well-equipped armies. But jealousies supervened. Conrad refused to wait for Louis, and was defeated in Asia Minor. Louis with the remnants of his force reached Acre ; a combined movement against Damascus failed, and the king returned home, having only succeeded in proving to the Moslem the want of

unity among the Christians. Thereafter, year by year, in spite of the establishment of the great martial monastic orders of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John, the kingdom of Jerusalem grew weaker; while the Moslems, under Noureddin and his nephew, the famous Saladin, the conqueror of Egypt, grew stronger. To add to the distress of the situation the royal house of Bouillon began to fail, and after a succession of minors it at last died out in 1186, leaving the throne of Jerusalem in dispute at the very moment Saladin was marshalling his followers for the final assault on the kingdom.

Though, during the first half of the twelfth century the power of the Papacy was all-predominant, two influences were at work which were destined to change the whole complexion of European politics. One was the revival of learning and the other the growth of national kingdoms. The regeneration of the monasteries, leading as it did to a higher conception of spiritual life, quickened at the same time the desire for knowledge; while the claims of the Papacy led to the establishment of schools of canon law, at Pavia, Ravenna, and at Rome. Meanwhile, early in the twelfth century Irnerius had established a school of law at Bologna, where, at the request of the Countess Matilda, he lectured on Justinian's Institutes. Soon, by the irony of fate, this school became strongly imperialist, the opponents of the pope regarding it as the means of furnishing them with authority for maintaining the divine right and universal claims of the Roman emperor. Able canonists like Ivo of Chartres replied, and ultimately in 1142 the papal position was defined by the Decretals of Gratian. But it was not only the emperor and pope who sought to intensify their claims by the revival of legal studies. The struggling kings of England, France and Spain found, in these rediscovered codes, useful weapons to turn against the proud feudatories who

flouted their authority. Gradually these monarchs displaced from round their persons the territorial magnates, and called in clerks trained in the Italian schools of law.

By the middle of the twelfth century a significant change came over western Europe. In Germany the Emperor Frederic I., known as Barbarossa, had gained the Imperial crown. His reign was 'the most brilliant in the annals of the empire.' He re-established order in Germany, broke down the attempted revival of Italian nationality, and successfully defied the Papacy. England, after the long years of anarchy under Stephen, emerged into the rule of law under Henry II., and became the head of a strong continental empire, which absorbed nearly the whole of modern France. Meanwhile, Louis VII. of France in his small royal domains was laying the foundation-stone on which his son was to establish a kingdom, which was to confine the power of England to the British Isles, and become for centuries the pivot of European politics.

By the latter half of the twelfth century the Capetian monarchs of France had gained but little in power, if indeed they were not weaker than Hugh Capet, the founder of their line. Their lands consisted of the duchy of France, a more or less compact territory between the Seine and the Loire, and small scattered outliers in Poitou and in the south. They had also certain peculiar rights, notably ecclesiastical. They were lords of Orleans, abbots of St. Martin's at Tours, and minor canons of the Church of St. Quentin. Within these territories they were steadily making their power felt, reducing insolent barons, aiding the oppressed peasantry, conciliating the inhabitants of the towns, and everywhere defending the rights of the Church. For it was to a considerable degree by the aid of the Church that Hugh Capet had gained his crown, and by her aid that his descendants had maintained it. To the north-east of the duchy of France lay the great fief of Flanders, looking



partly to the emperor, partly to the French king, as its feudal superior. Due north lay the Norman duchy with its attendant county of Maine, then forming part of the possessions of the crown of England. Further west was Brittany, over which Normandy had some vague rights, translated into fact by the marriage of the Breton heiress with Geoffrey, son of Henry of England. West lay Anjou, the ancestral possession of King Henry's family. West-south-west was the duchy of Aquitaine and the county of Poitou, so stupidly lost to France by the divorce of Queen Eleanor by Louis VII.; so cleverly won to England by King Henry at the cost of an ill-tempered elderly bride. Further south were the counties of Toulouse and Auvergne, the family possessions of the Counts of Toulouse, who had never even paid feudal homage to the Capetian kings; while, on the east of the Rhone, was Provence, a part of the Arelate, dependent on the emperor. East lay the great fief of Burgundy. Nearer to Paris, east and west were the fiefs of the Counts of Champagne, who were also lords of Blois.

Such was the distribution of France when, in 1178, King Louis VII. was seized by an attack of paralysis. By his first two wives he had only daughters; but his third wife, Alice of Blois, of the house of Champagne, had in 1165 presented him with a son, Philip, called at the time of his birth Dieudonné, and known to history as Philip Augustus. The fate of the French monarchy hung on the life of this child, a bright eager youth, quick at all manly sports, and a great hunter. In 1179 King Louis, recognising that he had not much longer to live, at once determined to have his son crowned in his lifetime, as his predecessors had done before him. The prospect which lay before the lad was such as to cause deep anxiety to a father's heart. In spite of the care with which he had espoused the cause of the Church and the peasantry, of the stern way in which he



had suppressed the feudal barons of the royal domains, and won to his side the corporations of the growing towns by timely charters to their commerce, the power of the French crown was weak compared with that of its mighty feudatories. It was clear that if the state was to survive, it must do so by the aid of its three great rivals. For the time being the house of Champagne was bound to the destiny of France through the queen. There remained the other two, Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders and Vermandois, and Henry of England. Of these Henry of England was by far the more important. Under the pretext of a vision King Louis, ill as he was, crossed the Channel to pay his vows at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury; there he met Henry, and the result of the understanding then arrived at was seen in the cordial relations which existed between Henry and Philip during the next few years. Hardly had Louis returned to Paris than he was seized by an attack of his malady, which prevented him from being present at his son's coronation on All Saints' Day at Rheims, where William of Champagne, Archbishop of Rheims, placed the crown on his nephew's head. For nearly a year King Louis lingered on, a hopeless invalid, so that from the day of his coronation Philip, hardly yet fifteen, had to bear the sole burden of the crown.

Contrary to their expectations the lords of Champagne found themselves excluded from the young king's councils. Philip at first listened to the advice of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders; and on April 28th, 1180, five months before his father's death, married Isabel, eldest daughter of the Count of Hainault and niece of the Count of Flanders, who, being childless, promised that Isabel should be his heir. She was to bring to the French crown, at the count's death, Artois—'the city of Arras and St. Omer and Aire and Hesdin; that is, the land beyond the great dyke.' But the predominance of Count Philip did not last long. It was no

part of the scheme of Henry of England to allow either Flanders or Champagne to control the crown of France ; King Henry himself desired to have the final word. In June 1180, he met the young French monarch under the famous tree of Conference which stood near Gisors on the bank of the Epte. The result of this meeting was that a commission was appointed to settle all disputes between the two crowns ; and that Philip, falling under the glamour of Henry's strong personality, restored to favour his mother and her house.

For the next few years in all his difficulties Philip appealed for advice to Henry, and it was his sage counsel which saved the young king from two ill-timed wars with Flanders. It is a great tribute to the personal influence of King Henry that he could thus control the young Philip ; for Philip from his youth was ever desirous to regain for himself the position which once had belonged to the Carolingian monarchs, and Henry's power stood most in his way. The following anecdote clearly discloses his ambition. On one occasion when his army was invading Flanders, negotiations were being carried on between the French and Flemish plenipotentiaries. Philip stood apart, 'holding a green hazel wand in his hand or gnawing it with his teeth.' One of the barons went up to him and inquired what he was thinking about. 'I was wondering,' he replied, 'whether at some future time God will ever think fit to bestow on me or some other king of France this favour—the restoration of the realm of France to its former position, to the extent and renown which it once enjoyed in the days of Charles.' This was his life-long object, and he pursued it remorselessly. Keen soldier as he was, he knew that fighting is easier than waiting, and often less profitable. But every forward movement, every hesitation, every delay was part of his steadfast plan towards the ideal expressed in his early days.

In 1183, Isabelle of Vermandois, aunt of Philip's queen, died, and King Philip at once claimed Vermandois. But, contrary to his promises, Philip of Flanders refused to give up this fief and married again. Thereon, in 1184, Philip invaded Flanders. After a stubborn campaign, thanks to the intervention of Henry, he gained by the Treaty of Aumale, in 1185, immediate possession of Vermandois with the district of Amiens; while Peronne, St. Quentin, and the whole of Arras were to pass to him at Count Philip's death. Immediately after the peace of Aumale, following his father's policy, Philip intervened in Burgundy, where the churches were crying out at the tyranny of Duke Hugh. The royal arms prevailed against the Burgundians; the Castle of Châtillon-sur-Seine was stormed, the Duke captured and compelled to redress the wrongs done to the Church.

That the ambitious young king would allow no personal admiration, no sense of gratitude, to stand in the way of his aims, was soon shown. He began to plot with his friend Henry's rebellious sons. It was only the premature death of Geoffrey of Brittany which prevented war breaking out between Philip and Henry in 1186, although Henry had done Philip no wrong; he had faithfully stood by his promises, and in 1183 had in person done homage for his possessions in France. The immediate object of the French king was the recovery of the Vexin, with its stronghold of Gisors which formed the dowry of his sister Alice promised to one of King Henry's sons, 'whom he will.' In 1187 war again nearly broke out when Philip encouraged Richard to rebel against his father; but it was averted, thanks to Henry's ability and the ill news from Palestine.

The knell of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had sounded when on October 3rd, 1187, Saladin had entered Jerusalem as conqueror. The West was horrified. The pope at once made pitiful appeals to all the monarchs of Christendom

to lay aside their private contentions, and to take the cross to aid in the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Philip was too politic to put himself in the wrong. Like Henry of England he took the cross, and proceeded by means of the 'Saladin tithe' to make preparations for his departure to the East. But Henry's disobedient sons could not be contained, and Philip could not resist the temptation of profiting by their disloyalty. Henry appealed against his action, but Philip replied that he would not desist until he had regained Berry and the Vexin. The fire-brand Richard sided one moment with his father, at another with Philip. In May 1189 an abortive conference was held near La Fierté. The papal legate attempted to intimidate Philip by threatening to lay his lands under an interdict unless he made peace. But the French king won sympathy from his English enemies by replying that it did not belong to the Roman Church to lay curses on the King of France, if the King of France upheld his crown against his rebellious vassals, and added 'that the legate had scented Henry's money.' The end came speedily. Philip surprised Henry at Le Mans; drove him in rout, and forced him on July 4th at Colombières on the Cher to promise to surrender Alice, to recognise Richard as his heir, to pay a sum of twenty thousand marks, and to start on the crusade in the following Lent.

Two days after this great submission the 'old Lion' lay dead. Philip had triumphed beyond belief; he had humbled the greatest war lord of the West, and established the claim of his crown beyond the wildest dreams of his predecessors. But his victory was specious rather than solid; he could not in decency remain to gather the fruits. He had shown what was possible, and it remained for a later occasion to turn appearances into realities.

Philip having made all due preparations for the crusade went to St. Denis, and 'most devoutly' received the

pilgrim's scrip and staff from the hand of his uncle, William of Champagne, Archbishop of Rheims. Then he proceeded to make the necessary dispositions for the government of his kingdom in his absence. The fact that Richard of England was going with him, and had signed a treaty of alliance, ensured the preservation of peace from without. For the maintenance of order within he drew up a personal testament, in the favour of 'his household and his friends.' This document was of great constitutional importance, for it laid down claims to royal supremacy and control which would not have been accepted under other circumstances. On July 1st, 1190, Richard and Philip met at Vézelay with their respective hosts. Nominally they were bent on regaining the Holy Sepulchre; but that their aims were not purely for the honour of Christendom can be seen from the fact that, before starting, they agreed to divide equally all that they should gain in the war. By September 16th, thanks to the hired Genoese seamen and ships, the two monarchs had reached Messina in Sicily. There difficulties at once arose. Tancred, the Norman usurper, who held the island against the claims of the Emperor Henry VI., received them with delight; he attempted to gain their recognition by offering his daughter in marriage to Philip. But the King of France was too crafty a politician to be led into difficulties with the emperor, and too self-contained to join Richard in punishing the Greeks who robbed the crusaders right and left. Richard's impetuous action nearly caused a rupture between them, the 'Lion and the Lamb,' as the Greeks called them, and it was necessary once again to swear 'on the relics of the saints to keep good faith to one another, both as regards their persons and the two armies during the pilgrimage.'

It was not till March 30th, 1191, that Philip sailed for the East; three weeks later he reached Acre, which city



had been besieged for a year and a half by the crusaders under Guy of Lusignan. Richard did not arrive there till June, having stopped on his way to capture Cyprus from the infidels. Meanwhile, Philip showed his usual determination and good military judgment. The crusaders needed an example, so he pitched his tent so close to the walls that 'the enemies of Christ often shot their quarrels and arrows right up to it, and even beyond.' But unfortunately his delicate constitution could not stand the climate, and the malignant fever soon confined him to his bed.

On July 12th Acre surrendered, and the hollow truce between Philip and Richard soon afterwards came to an end. The relations between the two kings had been further strained by the marriage of Richard with Berengaria of Navarre. This meant the final rejection of Philip's sister Alice. Now arose the question as to who should be King of Jerusalem. Richard supported Guy of Lusignan, the widower of Queen Sibylla; Philip sided with Isabelle, Sibylla's sister, who was married to Conrad of Montferrat. A compromise was for the moment effected; Guy was to be king for life and to be succeeded by Conrad. Meanwhile Philip, who was in very bad health—he had lost his hair and finger nails—heard that his son Louis was dangerously ill. Never a crusader at heart, he was glad of any excuse to get home to carry on the work, always so dear to him, of extending his kingdom. The death of Count Philip of Flanders gave him a further excuse for returning to claim his dead wife's heritage of Peronne. In spite of the protest of the other crusaders, he sailed away from Acre on July 31st, having just done sufficient to discharge his vow, and add to his prestige the glamour which surrounded a crusader.

Philip returned to France with the express purpose of availing himself of the opportunity of overthrowing the



Angevin power, which had been snatched from him on the occasion of the death of Henry II. by the necessity of the crusade. Now he was in a much stronger position, for his formidable rival, Richard of England, was safely engaged in upholding the cross against the Saracens, and in his place stood John, whose one desire was to ruin his brother Richard. The grounds for an attack were to hand. Richard had not carried out the terms of the treaty of 1189; he had never paid the twenty thousand marks his father had promised; he had also thrown over Alice and married Berengaria of Navarre. Philip accordingly had strong grounds for demanding the return of the Vexin, Alice's marriage portion. His first move was to demand from the seneschal and barons of Normandy the return of Alice, and the surrender of the Castle Gisors and the Vexin. This the barons stoutly resisted. Philip then offered Alice to John. He would at once have accepted her and conspired against his brother, if his mother, Queen Eleanor, and the English baronage had not overawed him for the time. Two years later he succumbed to the temptation when he heard that Richard was a prisoner in the hands of the Austrian duke.

Treachery spread, and Philip was able to capture the whole of the Vexin and to lay siege to Rouen, which, under the earl of Lancaster, stoutly resisted his assaults. Meanwhile, many of the towns of Normandy threw open their gates to him. But in the spring of 1194 the situation underwent a complete alteration, for on March 13th, 1194, Richard landed in England. Philip had been using every effort to induce the emperor to retain him in prison, but Richard had bought his freedom at the price of an immense ransom, and by doing homage to the emperor for his kingdom. For the next three years warfare was almost continuous, Philip attacking and Richard defending in Normandy and in Aquitaine. Philip attempted to

strengthen his position by giving the unfortunate Alice in marriage to William, Count of Ponthieu. But by 1198 Richard had built up a strong coalition of Flanders, Champagne and Brittany, and Philip was glad to sign a five years' truce. Richard meanwhile was building the wonderful Château Gaillard (the Saucy Castle) to protect the northern frontier of Normandy. Philip could but watch its growth and swear that were its walls of iron, still he would some day conquer Normandy, aye, and mayhap Aquitaine.

By the beginning of 1199 it seemed as if all his dreams were shattered, when in April came the news that Richard had died in an obscure skirmish at Chaluz. As the French chronicler wrote, 'God visited the land of France, for King Richard was no more.' Philip's opportunity had again arrived. John seized the crown of England and the duchy of Normandy; but the baronage of Brittany, Anjou and Touraine chose as their new lord, Arthur, John's nephew, the son of his elder brother Geoffrey. Constance of Brittany, his mother, placed the boy in Philip's hands. He lost no time in claiming the surrender of the Vexin, and of all the hereditary lands of the lord of Anjou, for his young protégé. But once again he was thwarted in the hour of his triumph. On December 6th, 1199, he was excommunicated for his adulterous union with Agnes of Meran, and his lands were laid under an interdict. There was nothing for it but to compromise. He met John at Château Gaillard. There, at the suggestion of the old Queen Eleanor, a peace was arranged on the terms that Louis, Philip's son, should marry Blanche of Castile, daughter of Alfonso VIII. and of Eleanor, King John's sister, and that Blanche should have as her marriage portion Evreux and the lands Philip had won in Normandy.

The truce lasted but two short years. Meanwhile, Philip made his peace with the pope and took back his

wife Ingeborg, and on the death of Agnes of Meran the pope legitimised her children. John, on his part, made a deadly enemy of the Count de la Marche by seizing Isabelle of Angoulême and marrying her ; he also by his exactions drove the baronage of Poitou to revolt.

By March 1202 Philip was ready to resume hostilities. He commenced by ordering John to give up to Arthur all his fiefs. When John refused he summoned him to Paris to answer, before his peers, the grievances of the barons of Poitou. John failed to attend the trial, and was sentenced in default to lose all the lands which he held of the King of France. This trial is most important, for on it Philip based all his subsequent claims to the lands he conquered. It showed how the power of the French crown had increased, when it was able to enforce its rights on so great a feudatory as the descendant of the Counts of Anjou and the Duke of Aquitaine. Seldom, if ever, had the disobedience of a great vassal been thus stigmatised : never before had the King of France attempted to put such a sentence into force.

Philip began his campaign in Normandy with his usual skill. But in Brittany John's forces were on the whole successful, and in August the young Arthur was captured at Mirabeau, on the frontier of Anjou. John sent his prisoner to Falaise. From that moment he disappeared from history ; rumour asserted that he was foully done to death by his uncle. Whether this was so or not the death of Arthur brought John little advantage ; everybody accused him as a murderer, and Philip posed as the avenger of blood. A successful campaign in Aquitaine brought many of the southern baronage to Philip's side ; in Normandy castle after castle surrendered, while John lay inactive at Rouen. Nothing could move him. ' Philip harries your lands, your strongholds he captures, and their seneschals he ties to the tails of his horses and drags them

to prison, your property he uses as his own.' 'Let be,' was John's sole answer, 'some day I will win all back.' But it was too late. In September 1203 Philip laid siege to Château Gaillard. For seven months the fortress stood out: John attempted to relieve it and failed, and at last it was taken by escalade. From that moment all real resistance in Normandy was over. Philip offered most liberal terms to all who would come over to his side. By St. John the Baptist's day, 1204, Rouen had opened her gates, and soon all Normandy submitted to him. Anjou and Touraine had also surrendered, Aquitaine alone remaining faithful to John. On April 1st, 1204, Queen Eleanor, 'that admirable lady of beauty and astuteness,' passed away. Philip at once invaded Poitou, and within a year that country also had all but surrendered. In 1206 John was glad to make a truce at Rouen, on the terms that he should hold what he still retained of Aquitaine.

Philip's success was no doubt due, not only to his military ability and his astuteness, but also to the extraordinary lack of character of his opponent. The mayors and governors of the cities which he attacked were all made aware that it would be to their advantage to surrender. Either they themselves or their relations received large grants of land. Philip also was ready, in nearly every case, to confirm all municipal charters and even to grant new privileges. His treatment of Falaise is a good example of his policy: at its capture he gave considerable tracts of lands to the mayor, André Propensé: he granted pardon to the burghers, and a week's fair to the lepers of the town on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

During the years of truce Philip was busy settling his captured provinces: he confiscated the estates of all who would not recognise him as lord; he brought in settlers who were faithful to himself; he put his own men in the seats of government; he propitiated the communes; he

showered gifts on the Church; he held the baronage responsible for the fidelity of the individual barons; he made arrangements for the security and defence of the chief towns of Normandy, Anjou, and the Loire; he made constant visits throughout all the new provinces; he rewarded his own personal followers, and he made it his business to interfere as much as possible in the government of outlying states like Ponthieu and Boulogne.

He was in no hurry to recommence hostilities. It was easy to see that time was on his side. Year by year John got into greater difficulties with the pope and the baronage of England. In 1212 Pope Innocent appealed to the King of France to drive John from his throne, but just when his expedition was ready came the news that John had made a complete surrender to the pope. Philip determined to turn his expedition against Flanders. But in 1213 he was checked by the annihilation of his fleet by the Earl of Salisbury. John, who at the same time was making a great attempt to recover his lost possessions, had crossed over to Poitou and had met with some success. His hopes lay in the coalition he was building up. Philip had espoused the claim of Frederic of Hohenstaufen to the Imperial crown; John supported his nephew Otto, son of Henry the Lion. For the moment Otto was victorious in Germany, and eager to avenge himself on Philip. In Flanders Ferrand of Portugal, who had married the heiress of Baldwin, continued to oppose the claims of Philip to his dead wife's heritage. The lords of Flanders and the French king each laid claim to Tournai. This city, whose bishop was a suffragan of the Archbishop of Rheims, had long ago put itself under the protection of Philip. Accordingly, in 1214, it was one of the first objects of the allies to seize Tournai. Philip was the first in the field; and when, in July 1214, the Imperial army entered Flanders, it found the French king reinforced by the burghers of Tournai



occupying the position of Bouvines, where the road to Tournai crossed the marsh by the little stream of the Marcq.

The battle was stoutly contested. Thanks to the misconduct of the mercenary cavalry of the allied right wing, and the lack of courage displayed by Otto, the French chivalry and the Flemish burghers won the day, though on neither side was there much generalship; indeed, Philip seems to have contented himself with playing the part of an ordinary knight. Still the result was decisive. Otto only escaped capture by flight; and Reginald of Boulogne, Ferrand of Portugal, Count of Flanders, and William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, his three divisional leaders, fell into the hands of the French. The victory brought far-reaching results, being indeed one of the most important in the history of the Middle Ages. Otto retired into obscurity; John gave up the attempt to regain his continental dominions; England became purely an island power; France emerged as a distinct national unit, and Philip stood forth as the all-important factor in France. The Church, the baronage, the communes, had all rallied to his side. He was no longer king only in the duchy of France. Now throughout Normandy, Maine, Brittany, Anjou, and nearly all Aquitaine his writs ran; Burgundy recognised that his suzerainty was no longer nominal but real, and soon his influence was to spread to Toulouse and Provence.

During a considerable part of the time that Philip was engaged in his struggle with the Angevins, he had on his hands a conflict with the Papacy. His first wife, Isabel, died in March 1190, leaving him one son, the future Louis VIII. She had brought him valuable territorial claims on his northern frontier. On his return from the crusade he looked about for another consort who might also aid him in his political aspirations. Ultimately his



choice settled on Ingeborg, sister of Cnut VI., King of Denmark, a lady 'beautiful in face, more beautiful in soul.' In 1193 the French ambassadors arrived at the Danish Court. 'What,' asked Cnut, 'will your master ask as dower?' 'The right of Denmark to England, and for a year the fleet and army of the Danes.' The Danish monarch freely promised them. But when the time of fulfilment came he was obliged to retract. With the Wends on his frontier, he could not afford to part with his army or offend Richard of England by lending his fleet to King Philip. Ultimately ten thousand marks were fixed instead, and Philip promised to protect the Danish king from his enemy the emperor.

On August 14th the marriage was celebrated at Amiens, and next day the queen was crowned: on that very day Philip cast her off. What his reason was no one knows: he seems to have felt some physical loathing for her, and determined to send her home at once; but she refused to go. Accordingly he set to work to obtain a divorce, on the shadowy grounds of far-off consanguinity. The complacent French bishops readily acceded to the wish of their lord. But the pope, on the appeal of Cnut, declared 'the sanction of divorce to be null and void, illegally pronounced against a woman ignorant of the language of the country, and without defence.'

Philip refused to listen to this message sent him by a papal legate, and continued to treat Ingeborg with the greatest harshness. Meanwhile, he was negotiating for another bride, and in June 1196 he married Agnes of Meran. But in the following January the unfortunate Ingeborg found a fresh and capable protector in the new pope, Innocent III. Within a few days of his accession Innocent wrote to the Bishop of Paris, 'Whom God hath joined let no man put asunder.' . . . 'Wherefore shall ye warn him (Philip) and enjoin for the pardon of his sins

that he straightway take to him again the said queen, lest he incur the divine wrath, and infamy among men, and thereby suffer irreparable loss.' After finding that letters and legates proved of no avail, in January 1199, the pope summoned a council to meet his legate at Dijon. There a sentence of interdict was pronounced on all the lands of the French king, as long as he continued his adulterous union with Agnes, and on February 5th, 1200, the interdict was put into force. Philip in his rage attacked his bishops, and robbed many of them of their lands. At the same moment he appealed to Rome, pleading for Agnes and her young children. At last he consented to visit Ingeborg and put away Agnes; but he still determined to seek a divorce. Another council was summoned in the following March at Soissons, and for a fortnight Philip fought with every argument for divorce. Then suddenly, as Rigord relates, 'Wearied by the long delay, leaving the archbishop and bishops without salutation, early in the morning he departed with Ingeborg his wife; informing the court through his messengers that he took away his wife with him, and would not be separated from her.' Philip had seen that he could not at the moment gain his desire. His submission brought its reward when a few months later Agnes died, and the pope legitimised her children.

Meanwhile the unfortunate Ingeborg led a solitary existence under guard, without the decencies of life. In 1205 Philip again tried for a divorce, this time on the grounds that he was bewitched. For eight years the struggle continued, the pope nobly upholding the cause of the unfortunate queen. In 1213 Philip was faced by the great coalition. The Danish fleet once again became a factor in the situation, and at the advice of his friend Guerrin he took back his queen from whom he had been separated sixteen years. Men regarded the victory of

Bouvines as the divine recognition of the injured queen, and from that moment Ingeborg assumed her full rights as Queen of France.

In the south events were happening, which, without the intervention of the king, added greatly to the prestige of the French crown. The end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century was a period of great intellectual activity, which resulted in a revolt against the doctrinal system of the Church. Many men capable of clear thinking desired to return to the 'primitive' or 'prime' Christian faith. But their enthusiastic and uncultivated followers distorted their teaching, and Sectarianism became rampant; fed in many cases by disgust at the unprincipled lives of those who professed to be rulers of the Church. In no part of Europe did these heresies fall on a more fruitful ground than in southern Gaul. At the bottom of most of them lay Manicheism, that is, the belief of the eternity of evil and good in perpetual antagonism. The sect known as the Albigenses declared that men fell into two classes, only one of which was predestined to salvation; they also repudiated all Church orders, marriage, and the holding of property; their system was 'not only a religious but a social heresy, and this explains in part the severity with which it was suppressed.'

Provence—the region from the Haute Garonne to the Alps—boldly accepted this new religion; and Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, threw himself into the movement. At first little attention was paid to it. The south had always been notorious for attacks on ecclesiastical property by freebooting barons. In 1198 Innocent undertook the task of attempting to regain this district for the Church. He despatched thither some of the most notable preachers of the day, among them St. Dominic, the founder of the Black Friars, the great preaching brotherhood.

' This holy man,' says the Troubadour, ' went with others over the land of the heretics, preaching to them that they should be converted, but the more he besought them, the more they scoffed at him and held him for a fool.' Matters reached a head in January 1207, when, after Raymond of Toulouse had been excommunicated by the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, a knight, pursued the legate and stabbed him to the heart at St. Gilles near Arles.

Innocent at once organised a crusade against the heretics, and called on the King of France and his lords to come to the aid of the Church. Philip was too busy watching Otto and John; but a great army under Simon de Montfort was engaged in the south for the next few years. At last, in September 1213, the forces of Raymond and his ally, the King of Aragon, were crushed. The battle of Muret decided that Langued'oc should fall under the control of Langued'oil. In 1215, Simon de Montfort was chosen Lord of Toulouse. For the next ten years there was dynastic warfare between the house of Raymond and that of Montfort; but the issue was never in doubt, and year by year northern influences permeated the land. Though Philip himself never took active part in the conquest, he was willing to allow his knights to assist the crusaders, when they were not required by himself. But he always told them that their duty was first to him, if at any moment war should break out with England. He knew that personal intervention would complicate problems at home, that the Church was bound in the long run to win, and that the victory of the Church meant the victory of the north.

Philip's policy towards England, after the victory of Bouvines, was very similar to his attitude towards the Albigensian crusade. He had won as much as he was able at the moment to digest; he wanted time to consolidate his new dominions, and he had no intention of

sacrificing his position for the sake of problematic gains. When, after John had repudiated the Great Charter, the English barons invited his son Louis to come and be their king, Philip declared that he would neither support nor hinder his going. But when the pope sent a legate to command him not to allow his son to attack the King of England, the vassal of the Holy See, Philip broke out, 'The kingdom of England never was the patrimony of St. Peter, nor is, nor will be. No king or prince can give away his realm which is a commonwealth, without the assent of his barons, who are bound to defend the realm,' adding, 'Alas! how greatly will the state of all kings suffer through this. So, by some trick, may the pope, in time to come, rob my heir of France, which,' raising his hands to heaven he cried, 'May God, may God, may God avert.'

Although he refused him all aid he allowed the young Louis to go, and later, in spite of threats of excommunication, refused to recall him. In the south, in 1216, he invested Montfort with the county of Toulouse. Nearer home, in 1218, he saw the extinction of the house of Chartres, and the division of Chartres and Blois between the husbands of the last count's sisters. In the autumn of 1222, he began to fail, but still he worked as before. He survived for eight months, dying at last in his new palace of the Louvre on Friday, February 14th, 1223, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

As a man Philip had few qualities which attract. His cold, hard, calculating ambition seems to have ground down his passions, save in the case of his relations with Ingeborg. His success as a ruler depended on his sane common sense and the tenacity with which he pursued his desires. He would allow no personal feeling of admiration, gratitude or respect, to interfere with the policy he had in his mind. Though in the hour of his triumph he showed extreme moderation, we must remember that



this was probably from motives of expediency. We have seen how he turned against Henry II., whom he so admired, and who had so befriended him in his early days. It was the same with Richard, whom in his younger days we are told, 'he so honoured that by day they ate at one table, off one dish, and at night slept in one bed. And the French king loved him as his own soul.' In his treatment of his barons and his own personal followers, he was always self-contained and polite; in great contrast to the Angevins, seldom if ever did he lose his temper. Giraldus Cambrensis had him in his mind when he wrote of the kings of France, 'They do not behave as bears or lions in the presence of their subjects. Nay, though they are exalted on the earth, they display affability and kindness towards their inferiors.'

We have seen how he successfully carried out his scheme for overthrowing the great Angevin house; we have noted how he knew exactly to what length to go, and when to stop; we remember how he held his own against the greatest and most powerful of the popes. We must now examine his methods of consolidating his possessions, and of providing good and strong government for his subjects. The alliance with the Church had been the rock on which former kings of France had built up their power. Philip continued this alliance, and faithfully discharged his duties as protector of the Church against the lesser and the greater barons. But, from being an ally of the Church, he became its real and direct overlord. He successfully established his right of the regalia, that is, the right to the revenues of all vacant sees. When the Vidame of Châlons attempted to resist him on this point—though Châlons lay in Burgundy—he held an inquest and completely overrode the Vidame. In all questions of episcopal election Philip's word was law. He used his power to reward his most valuable clerks with bishoprics. The Church courts were



made subject to his rule. In 1220 he issued an ordinance to deal with ecclesiastical jurisdictions: the ecclesiastical courts, while allowed to exercise control in matters of perjury and morals, were obliged to abstain from all interference with feudal affairs: a criminous clerk degraded by the ecclesiastical courts was to receive no punishment from the civil power; but if the Church released him the king might seize him. Clerks holding land held it as laymen, and so their possessions were subject to the feudal and civil law. No man was to be excommunicated for the fault of his servant, or his lands placed under an interdict without the consent of his overlord. Prelates were not to compel burghers to take the oath against usury, or against trading on Sunday, or with the Jews. The whole of the ordinance breathes a spirit of authority which shows how strong was the position of the French king. In England each one of these points was only won after years of bitter struggle with the Church and the Papacy. But the French king had no difficulty in enforcing military service from the prelates in respect of their fiefs.

At every crisis in his reign Philip was faced with foes among his chief feudatories and his own household. But in every case he successfully tamed them. Early in the reign he taught the Duke of Burgundy that he could not with impunity ravage and oppress his churches. The house of Champagne was of necessity wrecked by the extinction of the male line. We have seen how he tore the great fiefs from the house of Anjou. Vermandois and Artois, we remarked, were gained through his first wife and kept largely under royal control. Brittany was given to Pierre Mauclerc, husband of Arthur's half-sister Alice; but the fealty due to Philip was expressly reserved when the vassals took the oath to their new duke. In the conquered provinces, and even in those still under the Angevin control, agreements were made with nobles to support the king;

thus the smaller baronage was built up as a counterpoise to the greater.

In his own now greatly extended domains Philip exercised a watchful superintendence. The provost, the old royal officer, the châtelain, the keeper of the king's castles, and the vicomtes had become hereditary officials, seeking their own advancement. The king created a new official called the bailli in the north, or the sénéchal in the south, who roughly was the equivalent of the English sheriff. The baillis in their own district nominated the provost and inferior officers, collected revenues, administered justice, superintended the royal relations with the feudatories, and were the administrative heads of their districts. They were controlled and supervised by the king's council, and, three times a year, had to come to Paris to have their accounts audited.

To the townsmen Philip was always a good friend. He granted them charters; he encouraged their trade; he protected them from baron and bishop, and he allowed them to strengthen their walls and fortifications. He even went so far, as in the case of the Laonnais, as to attempt the experiment of granting a charter to a rural community. Paris was his pet child. As the chronicler quaintly puts it, 'It had formerly been called Lutea (Lutetia) from the stench of its mud; but Philip, Semper Augustus, caused the whole city to be paved with hard stone.' Outside the city he constructed for himself a new palace, the Louvre. He built a great wall, taking in the streets of the south side of the Seine, the Louvre, the Cathedral of Notre Dame on the island, and the new town full of merchants and manufacturers, which was springing up on the north bank of the river. He it was who, by granting to the masters and scholars their charter, became the founder of the famous University of Paris. Thanks to his care the city became noted for the finest examples of Gothic work, and attracted

to itself numerous new industries, which soon made it the largest city in Europe. Thus it was that Philip's capital became famous as the seat of the only centralised monarchy on the continent, the most famous school of learning north of the Alps, and the centre of the continental trade of northern Europe.

## FREDERIC II

THE reign of Philip Augustus, as we have seen, exemplified the growth of the idea of national monarchy. But we must never forget that, at the same time, the predominant note running through European aspirations was still that of a Christendom united under one head. But now there stood forth two protagonists to claim the headship. We remember how, thanks to Hildebrand's efforts, the Papacy became independent of the Imperial claims, and how by the Concordat of Worms the question of lay investiture was settled. Hildebrand's successors were not content with freeing themselves from Imperial control: they set before themselves the ideal of reversing the old situation and establishing, what we might call, the suzerainty of the Church over the empire. Through the whole of the twelfth century ran the bitter struggle between pope and emperor.

The Papacy had distinctly the advantage, and for these reasons: nearly everywhere it had the better exponents of its cause, for the whole organisation of the Church was at its beck and call. It could put forth arguments which, though fallacious, were so specious that it required a trained logician to defeat them, while in many cases no one attempted to challenge its premises from want of historical knowledge. The forged Decretals of Isidore were freely drawn on, and the alleged translation of the empire of the West, by Constantine to Pope Sylvester, was scarcely ever questioned. To support the historical accuracy of

their premises the following precedents were quoted: that Pippin and Charlemagne were called by the pope to the Imperial throne; that all emperors received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and that no emperor ventured to own the title till the crown had been conferred by the pope. There followed the direct appeal to the feudal theory, that every fief or honour is held of a superior power: that, as the pope invests the emperor with the Imperial crown, he must be lord paramount of the emperor. Pope Hadrian IV. summed up the situation thus, 'What were the Franks till Zacharias welcomed Pippin? What is the Teutonic king now till consecrated at Rome by holy hands? The chair of St. Peter has given and can withdraw gifts.'

The emperors retaliated as best they could. During the twelfth century we find no less than four anti-popes set up by them to refute the papal pretensions. On the whole this procedure did very little good to the Imperial cause. As in the parallel case between Becket and Henry II. in England, the emperors failed to make good their claim to command the priesthood, in spite of their assertion that 'the Divine Providence has specially appointed the Roman Empire as a remedy against continual schism.' What really gave the Imperial cause its greatest support was the growing study of civil law. All over the West, from Bologna to Paris and Oxford, schools of law were springing up. The civilians transferred to the emperor all the powers that the most servile jurists had ever ascribed to the Caesars of the old Roman Empire. The emperor was 'Lord of the World.' 'The emperor is a living law upon earth.' 'Do and ordain whatsoever thou wilt, thy will is law.' Such were a few of the maxims freely quoted by the great civilians of the age. We can scarcely wonder then at the indignant reply of Frederic Barbarossa to the deputies of Rome who made much of their condescension

in bestowing on him the sceptre. 'It is not for you to choose us, but Charles and Otto that rescued you from the Greek and Lombard. . . . It is not for the people to give laws to the prince, but to obey commands.' One other weapon was added to the Imperial armoury in the twelfth century. As a counterset to the papal claims Frederic Barbarossa added to his title the word holy, thus opposing to the 'Holy Catholic Church' the 'Holy Roman Empire.' In the time of Charlemagne we find Alcuin using the title 'The Christian Empire,' but it is from the time of Barbarossa onwards that the word 'holy' became part of the Imperial title, and the empire was 'consecrated an earthly theocracy.'

In spite of the counter claims of the emperors and the ability of the Hohenstaufen line, and notably of Frederic Barbarossa, the power of the Papacy continually advanced. There were several causes for this. First came its great prestige, arising out of the crusades. The visible head of the Church on earth had taken up the cause of Christ against the infidel; without the pope there would have been no crusade. The Papacy was wise enough to make the most of the fact that it was the Church, not the empire, which united Europe against the Moslem; although the great Frederic Barbarossa actually led part of the host which hurried off on the news of the fall of Jerusalem and met his death in Asia Minor in 1190. The second factor in the rise of the Papacy was the gift to the pope of her estates by the Countess Matilda on her death in 1115. Thus the Papacy became a great territorial power. The emperor attempted to deprive it of these possessions by claiming, not only Tuscany and Mantua and other cities, but all the allodial and patrimonial inheritance of the countess, on the ground that they had been settled at her marriage on her husband Duke Welf of Bavaria. It was from the connection between the Countess Matilda and the



house of Welf that the Italian party, opposed to the emperor, took the name of the Guelfs, while the Ghibelline or Imperial party took its name from Waiblingen, the ancestral house of Frederic of Buren, the founder of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Thirdly, the Papacy had allied itself with the group of cities in northern Italy which, known as the Lombard League, under the presidency of Milan, had with democratic pride opposed the claims of Barbarossa to the dominion of the valley of the Po; and had succeeded at length, after nearly being crushed, in defeating him on the field of Legnano. Lastly, the popes had the support of the Norman kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, which were held as fiefs of the Papacy by the warlike descendants of the house of Hauteville.

We must now examine the means at the disposal of the emperors. The emperors in their essence were powerful German monarchs. Since the extinction of the great national duchies of Franconia, Swabia and Saxony, they might have gradually evolved a national German kingdom. But the glamour of the Imperial crown ever led them to the elusive pursuit of a world-wide empire. Italy was the lure which ensnared them. Barbarossa, after the Treaty of Constance 1183, which brought an end to the war with the Lombard League, reached this goal, as he thought, by the marriage of his son Henry with Constance, the legitimate heir to the crown of Sicily. When the young Henry, his son, succeeded him, he followed up this advantage by rapid blows. By 1194 Henry VI. had completely defeated the opposition in Germany led by the house of Henry the Lion. He had set up a counterpoise to the Lombard League by forming a league of Imperial towns. He had wrested southern Italy and Sicily from the bastard descendants of the Hautevilles; he had regained the heritage of the Countess Matilda and granted it to his brother Philip, who was married to Irene, daughter of the eastern emperor Isaac and widow of

Tancred, the bastard pretender to the Sicilian crown. It seemed as if the pope would relapse into a mere ecclesiastical nominee of the empire, and the ambitious Henry secretly prepared designs to incorporate the eastern empire also within his dominion. When in 1194 the Empress Constance gave birth to a son, the future Frederic II., success seemed certain. But in 1198 the victorious career of the young emperor was cut short by death.

With the death of Henry VI. came the papal opportunity. Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, was elected emperor by the papal party in opposition to Philip of Swabia, Henry's brother. For twelve years Germany was rent by civil war, thanks in no small part to the machination of the pope, Innocent III. : while southern Italy and Apulia were torn by internecine strife between the new German lords inducted by the late emperor and the native Normans, Italians and Saracens.

Meanwhile, the Empress Constance, after acknowledging the pope as overlord of Sicily, died in the same year as her husband, leaving her little son as the ward of Innocent. The shades of the dead emperors must have groaned indeed, seeing the ambitions of the Hohenstaufen thus laid in the dust ; the pope arbiter of the destinies of the empire ; the scion of their haughty house seeking protection from Markwald of Anweiler and other German freebooters, whom they had themselves planted on the soil of southern Italy and Sicily. The boy was too young at his parents' death to feel the humiliation of the position. Though even food and clothing were often hard to obtain, he no doubt enjoyed his childhood in sunny Palermo amid the wonderful palaces and gardens of his Norman ancestors, who had so cunningly assimilated all the civilisation of their Saracen subjects.

Meanwhile, there was a continuous struggle waged between pope, German adventurers, and native semi-

Norman nobles of Sicily, as to who should be master of the king's person. For a moment in 1200 Markwald and the Germans got possession of both the boy and his kingdom. On Markwald's death, William of Capua, a Norman noble, and Walter of Palear, the chancellor—whom the pope had deposed from the bishopric of Troja—successfully seized the regal power. The papal party under the Archbishop of Palermo could not make head against them, and in the end the pope was compelled to make terms. Thus Frederic's education was received from tutors appointed by men who openly defied the Church. The boy grew up, 'taught from his earliest years by every party to mistrust the other: taught by the Sicilians to hate the Germans; by the Germans to despise the Sicilians; taught that in the pope himself, his guardian, there was no faith or loyalty; that his guardian would have sacrificed him, had it been to his interest, to the house of Tancred.' Hence from his youth Frederic saw nothing but intrigue and deceit. Naturally of an insatiable curiosity he flung himself eagerly into all sorts of studies. A rationalist, yet with a strange mixture of mysticism, what delighted him most was dialectic. His mind, precocious beyond measure, developed at an astonishing pace, but his character lacked stability.

The influence of his early surroundings must ever be borne in mind while studying the career of Frederic II. The letter of complaint written to the kings of Europe when the lad was but twelve years old was no doubt the actual work of his guardians, but it probably really portrayed his feelings. 'To all kings of the world and to all princes of the universe, the innocent boy, King of Sicily, called Frederic, Greeting in God's name! Assemble yourselves, ye nations; draw nigh, ye kings; hasten hither, ye princes, and see if any sorrow be like unto my sorrow! My parents died ere I could know their caresses; I did not

deserve to see their faces ; and I, like a gentle lamb among wolves, fell into slavish dependence upon men of various tribes and tongues. I, the offspring of so august an union, was handed over to servants of all sorts, who proceeded to draw lots for my garments and for my royal person. Germans, Tuscans, Sicilians, barbarians, conspired to worry me. My daily bread, my drink, my freedom, are all measured out to me in scanty proportion. No king am I : I am ruled instead of ruling : I beg favours instead of granting them.'

It must indeed have been humiliating to a boy of Frederic's spirit to find himself, the descendant of the mighty Hohenstaufen, reduced to the mere lordship of the island of Sicily, despised and insulted by the republics of Genoa and Pisa ; while Otto, the nominee of the pope, his guardian, was fighting his uncle Philip for the empire. Events moved rapidly : in 1208 Philip was assassinated, and in the next year Otto was betrothed to Philip's daughter and crowned by Innocent. Once crowned emperor, Otto took up the policy of the Hohenstaufen, and determined to win Sicily and Apulia. Thus Innocent found himself tricked by his own agent, and was glad to lend his countenance to Frederic, who in 1211 was offered the German throne by the old adherents of his race.

Frederic meanwhile, in 1209, had gained his first bride, thanks to the policy of the Papacy. The lady was Constance of Aragon, ten years his senior, the widow of Emmerich, King of Hungary. She brought in her train five hundred foreign knights whom Frederic used to establish his authority in Sicily. Early in 1212, when Frederic was seventeen years old, the queen gave birth to a son. Frederic, deeply attached though he was to his consort, did not linger long in the south after his son was born. He had determined to set out to win his father's dominions. To gain this he was ready to give what pledges the pope

might require as to his fealty for the kingdom of Sicily. Innocent, in his anger against Otto, was willing to use every means to encompass his downfall, and actually gave Frederic his blessing and personal assistance in his enterprise. After visiting Innocent in Rome, by aid of the Genoese, who hated the Pisans, Otto's allies, Frederic reached Genoa. From thence, escaping the force of the Milanese who tried to intercept him, he reached Verona with a small band of followers. The Brenner Pass was held for Otto, but Frederic's small cavalcade successfully crossed the Ruppen, and reached Constance three hours before the force Otto sent to capture him. At Constance Frederic found supporters: Otto was excommunicated by Bernard, Archbishop of Bari, the papal legate: Swabia rose for the heir of the Hohenstaufen. Otto retired northwards, and from that moment the power of the Welfs gradually declined. Bavaria threw in its lot with Frederic, and Henry of Kalden, the great administrator, brought over many of the officials of the German kingdom.

Frederic, well-advised, entered into a close and effective league with France in reply to Otto's league with his uncle, John of England. Though Otto did not die till 1218, the struggle between them really came to an end in 1214, when Otto and his allies were hopelessly defeated at Bouvines. In 1215 Frederic was crowned as German King at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in the palace of Charlemagne; thus quickly had he regained his father's lost inheritance. It only remained for him to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Rome. To gain this honour he was ready to bind himself by the most solemn vows that, on his coronation as emperor, all connection between Sicily and the empire should cease. He promised to resign the Sicilian crown to his little son Henry.

Frederic spent eight years in Germany, years big with omen for the future. He shrewdly saw that the result



of papal interference in the country had caused considerable irritation against Rome. This feeling was expressed in the poems of Walter von der Vogelweide, with his denunciation of the greed and pride of foreigners and the priestly domination of the laity. But Frederic was not strong enough to do without Innocent ; he also had to bid for the aid of the great temporal princes. Accordingly during this period we find him granting great concessions and wide jurisdiction to the Church and the more powerful feudatories, at the expense of the towns and the smaller knights. It was a policy of pure opportunism, and in the long run recoiled on his head.

The immediate outcome of this policy was a charter granted by Frederic, in 1220, practically giving the prelates and princes the position of independent sovereigns. The occasion of its issue was his departure for Italy to receive the Imperial crown. As early as his coronation at Aachen he had taken the cross. His object was twofold : he would propitiate the pope and thus gain the Imperial crown, and he would also stand forth in the true Imperial position as leading the united hosts of Europe against the infidel. But although he took the cross, Frederic had no intention of starting on the crusade before he had consolidated his position. Thanks to the death of Innocent in 1216, and the accession of a mild and benevolent pope, Honorius III., he had the requisite breathing space.

Frederic's charter to the prelates and princes was preceded by the election of his son Henry, King of Sicily, as King of the Romans. This was a most shameless breach of his promise made in 1216 that the empire and Sicily should be for ever separated. To the justly indignant remonstrances of the pope, he replied in the smoothest of terms that the election had taken place without his consent. He followed up this impertinent message by coming south to Italy to arrange for his own coronation. A consummate reader of character, he knew that a smooth tongue, a



deferential air, and a determined mind, would easily overcome the scruples of the kindly and weak old pope ; further, his life's training had taught him that all politics were trickery, and that the very centre of trickery was Rome. Once in Rome, his personality dominated the pope, who crowned him, after he had solemnly taken the cross, on the understanding that he was to retain Sicily for his lifetime, on condition that he kept the administration separate from that of the empire. Frederic in return promised throughout his dominions to amend all laws hostile to the prestige of the clergy, to exempt the Church from all taxes, and to supplement with all his power the efforts of the Church to exterminate heresies.

But once crowned emperor, Frederic found it as inconvenient to set out for the crusade as before. From the papal point of view his immediate departure was all-important, as the whole of the effort to relieve Palestine, by crushing the Moslem ruler of Egypt, was hanging in the balance. But Frederic, though ready at once to send aid, had no intention of setting out himself until he had reorganised his dominions and consolidated his power in the south. Unfortunately, the leaders of the crusade, after effecting a landing in Egypt and seizing Damietta as a base, allowed themselves to be lured into a general engagement before the succour arrived which Frederic had despatched. The disaster at Damietta did Frederic great injury. The pope loudly complained that the emperor was responsible, although it was really the foolhardiness of Cardinal Pelagius which had caused the *débâcle*, by persuading the leaders of the crusade to fight without awaiting the Imperial reinforcements.

While the pope was alternately cajoling and threatening, Frederic was pursuing in his kingdom of Sicily a policy exactly the opposite of that which he had followed in Germany. Instead of increasing the power of the

great feudatories, his aim was so to diminish their importance that he might build up a strong autocracy in the place of a feudal state. Returning to the south, at the age of twenty-six, he found his Sicilian dominions very much in the condition in which Henry II. found England at the death of Stephen. For more than twenty years the royal authority had lapsed. The country was covered with the feudal castles of the nobles: the great spiritual feudatories were as turbulent as their temporal brothers: the great cities of Messina, Syracuse and Catania were almost freed of the control of the crown; while a third of Sicily, and that the most fertile, was held by the Saracens, who had asserted their independence.

For four years, 1221-1225, Frederic waged a steady war against the Saracens. He saw clearly that until they were weakened and divided he would have no peace; but he also knew that, once conquered, owing to their superior intelligence and industry, they would form an asset of considerable importance. With this object in view he transported great numbers of them to the mainland, and settled them in the country round the abandoned city of Lucera. These Moors rapidly turned into the most loyal of subjects, and, like the Jews in England, they were placed under the special protection of the king. The revenue derived from the steel workers and silk weavers of Lucera was a grateful subsidy to the royal purse; while later, when involved in the long wars with the Lombard League, Frederic found in the Arabs a steady and loyal contingent of soldiery.

The subjection of the Sicilian, Norman and German feudatories was a harder task. In this the emperor was aided by his personal friends among the prelates and barons, and by a trained band of lawyers headed by Peter de Vineia. Like Henry II. his first step was to destroy the 'adulterine' castles, and to insist that all other castles

should be garrisoned by royal troops. Private war was forbidden, and a procedure set up to settle disputes about land very similar to that established by the 'assizes' in England during Henry II.'s reign. Trial by battle and the ordeal were gradually superseded by civil arbitration, and royal judges and justices withdrew all criminal jurisdiction from the feudal courts. Thus the judicial duel almost entirely disappeared except in certain specified cases. The towns also felt the weight of the royal hand: they no longer had the right of appointing their own magistrates, but were ruled by royal officials who were assisted by a council of notables chosen by the townsmen. Frederic hoped thus to secure the royal supremacy, but at the same time to keep in close touch with popular feeling. On the whole the loyalty of the towns during the long years of war when taxation was heavy shows that his system was by no means unsuccessful. Indeed the strict system of supervision of the resident officials by commissioners from the royal court did much to prevent harshness and extortion. The Church also was made to feel that it was a department of the state, though Frederic could not accomplish this without breaking the many promises he had made to Innocent. But, as we have said before, everything had conspired to teach him that promises were made but to be broken; and, as we shall see, for a great part of his life he was under the ban of excommunication. So, for the purposes of taxation, the ecclesiastics soon found that they differed in no whit from the laity, while the jurisdiction and privileges of the Church courts were greatly curtailed, and a strong law of mortmain stopped the growth of the ecclesiastical possessions.

The statesman who worked out the details of these reforms was Peter de Vinea. A Capuan, born of poor parents, forced to beg his bread while studying at the

university of Bologna, he had caught the attention of the Archbishop of Palermo, who recommended him to Frederic. By the year 1225 he was sitting on the judicial bench, and for the next twenty years he was, after Frederic, the most important man in the country. It was thanks also to Peter de Vinea's ingenuity that a great administrative system was built up. The administrative capital of the kingdom was placed at Capua, where, like the Angevin exchequer, the Magna Curia took cognisance of all judicial business. The place of the English sheriff was filled by the chamberlains of the six provinces of the kingdom, who were in charge of the finance and administration of these provinces; while justices, carefully selected and strangers to the district where their duty lay, were responsible for good order and criminal jurisdiction. In the villages the royal bailiffs acted as judges in the first instance, and looked after the royal interests. The grand justiciar, the head of the court of Capua, made yearly perambulations of the provinces to superintend the local machinery. Later in the reign, to meet the exigencies of the occasion, we find representative general courts, summoned to aid in taxation; thus anticipating the meeting of estates in northern Europe by at least a generation. It is also interesting to note that Simon de Montfort, whom we in this country so closely associate with the foundation of parliament, visited Frederic's dominions, and no doubt was acquainted with his method of raising money and bringing himself into touch with the needs of the different orders of society throughout his kingdom.

But, in spite of all these reforms, Frederic was not able with a stroke of the pen to change men's natures. Although the system of justice and order he introduced was such as to earn the warm regard of the mass of his subjects, who remembered the old days of feudal anarchy, we find

him again and again complaining of the venality of his magistrates.

It was not to be supposed that the Church would stand quietly by and see Frederic building up the power of his kingdom in the south, or allow him, unchallenged, to restrict her courts and her possessions, while she had such an excellent case against him as his failure to go on the crusade. But Frederic played with the mild old pope; he protested he was doing the work of the Church in conquering the Saracens in Sicily. In 1223 he met the Holy Father and promised he would sail to the East in 1225. To give him a further interest in the crusade, the pope suggested that the emperor should marry Yoland, the daughter of John of Brienne, the titular king of Jerusalem. But in 1225 Frederic was not yet ready to leave his own dominions, so he got his future father-in-law to beg for a two years' reprieve. The pope granted it on the understanding that if he did not set out in 1227 he would be excommunicated. Soon after this the emperor married Yoland, yet barely fifteen. But on the wedding day he forced King John to make over to him all rights connected with the crown of Jerusalem. John, furious at being thus tricked, became Frederic's most bitter foe and a powerful tool in the hands of the pope. In 1226 the emperor held a diet at Cremona, to which came representatives of all his dominions. After arrangements had been made for finding men and supplies for the following year's crusade, he proceeded to renew his claims on the Lombard cities. The league at once sprang again into existence, and the pope seeing in Frederic's action the determination to make himself autocrat of all Italy, renewed the ancient alliance between the league and the Papacy.

Such was the state of affairs when in the spring of 1227 Honorius III. died and was succeeded by Ugolino, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, under the title of Gregory IX. The new



pope was one of the best type of Churchman: a patron of every kind of holiness, a diligent reader of the Scriptures, the protector of the new order of the Franciscan Friars, a master of canon law, a friend of learning, a skilled diplomatist; but withal stern, uncompromising and harsh. No pope, not even Innocent III. or Hildebrand, had a higher conception of his office. He set about at once reforming the college of cardinals, and soon found himself backed up by Geoffrey Castiglione of Milan, Sinibaldo Fiesco of Genoa, Otto of Montferrat, and his own nephew Rinaldo of Anagni.

Frederic at first did not grasp the changes that were coming, for in old times Cardinal Ugolino had been his friend. But Gregory soon undeceived him. He first took the emperor to task regarding his morals and the eastern luxury he maintained at his court, and he then proceeded to order him to set out at once on the crusade. During the summer the German, French and Italian warriors had been gathering in Apulia. The hot climate proved fatal to many a northerner, and when at last on the 8th of September the host set sail, the emperor was suffering from a fever. Three days later his galley put back, and he was landed too ill, as he alleged, to go forward. Whether he was really so ill, or whether he wanted to remain in Italy to watch the pope, has never yet been decided. Anyhow, within a few weeks he was well and able to enjoy his customary course of life. But Conrad of Thuringia, whom he had left in command, died, and, without a leader, the crusade broke down, and most of the survivors sought their way home. The pope was furious, and, hastily gathering his chosen cardinals, on September 29th, excommunicated the emperor, and laid an interdict on every spot where he should attempt to reside. The friars only too anxious to support their patron swarmed over the country, spreading the papal decree



of excommunication and stirring up the people against their lord.

Frederic recognised in the papal action a declaration of war, and war to the knife. He saw in Gregory's methods an eager desire to seize the first opportunity to break up the Hohenstaufen Empire, and to set up as a counterpoise a papal territorial power. 'No Roman emperor,' he bitterly declared, 'has been so badly treated by a pope. The Roman Church is so swollen with avarice that the goods of the Church will not suffice to satisfy it, and it is not ashamed to disinherit and make tributary kings and princes.' Here we see indicated for the first time that idea which for the next three centuries was to be the cry of all reformers: that the Church must return to its old state of apostolic poverty; that irreligion springs from the bloated riches of the Church.

For a moment the pope failed and Frederic was victorious. The people refused to be weaned from their allegiance by the friars, and the Ghibelline party at Rome drove the pope from the Holy City. Gregory had to seek refuge at Viterbo, and in June 1228 the emperor sailed for the East, and landed at Acre in September. With almost childish petulance Gregory, who had excommunicated Frederic for not going on the crusade in the previous year, now continued the excommunication, and forbade all the faithful to serve in his army, because he had set out without seeking a reconciliation with him. The result was that the Templars, the Hospitallers and the Patriarch of Jerusalem refused to obey Frederic's orders: but many of the crusaders, and notably the Teutonic Order under Herman von Salza, the grandmaster, thought more of their duty to Christendom than of obedience to the pope.

Frederic had long been making preparation for his crusade: he had studied eastern politics, and knew well that the Moslem power was not united as it had been

under Saladin in the days of the third crusade. There was bitter hostility between the sultan of Egypt and the sultan of Damascus. Accordingly he had for some time past been in close communication with El-Karnil, the sultan of Egypt, who was in no way adverse to seeing a Christian state interposed between Egypt and Damascus. The unfortunate action of the pope in splitting the crusading host materially decreased the prestige which the arrival of the emperor gave to the cause of the Christians. Frederic, however, brought his diplomatic power to bear, and, in February 1229, arranged a ten years' truce with El-Karnil by which Bethlehem, Nazareth and Jerusalem were restored to the Christians on condition that the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem remained in Saracen hands. The bigots of Islam abused El-Karnil for granting so much, but he replied, 'After all, we are only giving up churches and ruins, and if Frederic makes a breach in the agreement I can easily recover Jerusalem.'

The papal party was indignant at the treaty, because in it there was no mention of the Church. The patriarch not only refused to take any part in the coronation celebration, when, at mid-Lent, Frederic took the crown of Jerusalem from the high altar of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but he cast an interdict on all the holy places, and forbade any priest from hallowing the coronation or celebrating the offices of the Church. Frederic gave fresh offence to the papal party by visiting the mosque of Omar. An Imaum of the mosque who conducted him gives us the following description of his visit: 'The emperor was red and bald: he had weak eyes: had he been a slave he would not have fetched two hundred drachms. Whenever he spoke he railed at the Christian religion. . . . When noon came we knelt for prayer and no one attempted to hinder us. Among those who knelt was the old Sicilian Mussulman who had been the emperor's tutor in Dialectics.' Such absence

of religious bigotry was of course construed by his enemies as being, not merely indifference, but hostility to Christianity. It was little wonder then that on his return to Acre the papal party took every opportunity of showing their hostility and spite.

By June the emperor was back again in Italy, having effected more by diplomacy for the Christian cause than generations of orthodox martial pilgrims : and having only failed in effecting more still, as von Salza declared, by reason of the hostility of the pope and the clergy.

Frederic's presence in Italy was urgently needed. The empress Yoland had died in giving birth to a son, Conrad, before Frederic had set out on the crusade. Meanwhile, her father, John of Brienne, had gladly accepted the post of leader of the papal mercenaries. The pope had seized the opportunity of his absence to invade his dominions, and John of Brienne was carrying fire and sword through Apulia. The return of the emperor at once altered the appearance of affairs. The papal troops were driven over the border, and the patrimony invaded. The pope was soon glad to seek the good offices of Herman von Salza and Leopold of Austria in the cause of peace. In July 1230 a treaty was drawn up at San Germano : the emperor promising to respect the papal dominions acknowledged the papal overlordship of Sicily, while the pope removed the ban of excommunication. Soon afterwards the two antagonists met at Anagni in the presence of von Salza, the only witness. Frederic's account of the meeting is this : ' We went to the pope who, receiving us with fatherly love and with the kiss of peace, talked with the judgment of clear reason and removed our rancour, so that we were unwilling to talk of the past.' While Gregory wrote, ' The emperor has come to me with the zeal of a devoted son, and has shown me that he is willing to accomplish all my desires.' In spite of this, within a few weeks we find the pope protesting against

Frederic's handling of ecclesiastical matters in Apulia. The fact was that the longstanding policies of the Papacy and the empire were most clearly defined in the character and aim of the two protagonists: there was no common ground on which a lasting peace could be built.

For the next four years after the Treaty of San Germano, Frederic lived for the most part at his palace of Foggia, dividing his time between hunting and the literary studies which his soul loved. He lived in the greatest luxury, and his large harem, guarded by eunuchs, was a grave scandal to the Church. He was busy with his University of Naples, which he had founded as early as 1224, and to which he hoped to attract scholars by its rich endowments and the special privileges he granted to all who attended its classes. He desired to provide for every sort of learning 'in order that those who have hunger for knowledge may find within the kingdom the food for which they are yearning, and may not be forced to go into exile and beg the bread of learning in strange lands.' The University of Naples had the honour of numbering among its first students the great Thomas Aquinas. It was the earliest university founded by a royal charter, but its close dependence on the state seems to have stunted its growth. To his court Frederic welcomed the wizard, Michael Scott, and Leonard of Pisa, who introduced Arabic numerals and algebra into the West. By his care the study of Aristotle was revived. Italian poetry also dates from his time, and Frederic himself has left fragments of poetry in the Sicilian tongue which justified Dante in describing him as the father of Italian poetry. The emperor corresponded with learned men over all the known world, as witness the famous Sicilian questions on 'What is the end of theology?' 'What are the preliminary theories indispensable to it?' and 'The use and real number of the categories in logic.' The questions were solved best, according to the Imperial mind, by

Ibn Sabin, a Mussulman from Messina. Frederic delighted in natural science, and kept a large menagerie for the study of wild animals. He was also intensely interested in medicine, and revived the old medical school of Salerno. Theory and abstract principles were not sufficient in his opinion. To decide on the question of digestion, he made a practical experiment. One man was given a large meal and kept quiet and then cut open, while another man was given a large meal, forced to take exercise, and then operated upon.

We must now turn our attention to Germany. When, in 1220, Frederic left his northern kingdom he had appointed Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, as guardian of his young son Henry. Under his capable administration order was maintained. But in 1225 the good bishop was assassinated by a knight, and the country fell into complete anarchy. Amidst this confusion the young king reached man's estate, and at once set about to pursue a policy completely opposed to that of his father. The King of the Romans was dissolute, rapacious and feather-headed. In 1231 Frederic, in pursuance of his policy of trusting the great nobles, forced Henry to promulgate at Worms a *Statutum in favorem principum*. 'It was a complete recognition of the territorial supremacy of the great nobles whether churchmen or laymen. No new castle or city was to be set up within their dominions, even by the emperor. . . . The towns and lesser cities were to be depressed in their favour. The cities were not to exercise jurisdiction outside the circuit of their walls, were not to entertain Pfahlbürger, or harbour fugitives or vassals of any prince.'

The young Henry continued to oppose his father, assuming an anti-clerical policy at the moment he desired to conciliate the Church. In spite of the warnings which he received when at the Diet of Cividale in Friuli in 1232, he strove to unite the towns and lesser nobles in revolt.



Accordingly, in 1235 Frederic had himself to proceed north to depose his son. At Maintz he published a series of Constitutions. By these he attempted to limit the right of civil war, and to set up a court justiciar to hear all cases save those reserved for himself as emperor. But later, by renewing his former concessions to the magnates, he entirely ruined this attempt to strengthen the royal prerogative. Day by day the greater nobles became more important. Already the power of electing the king was passing from the general assembly of all the barons to an inner ring of magnates from whom were soon to be evolved the famous seven electors. To the revolted nobles Frederic was merciful. The only one who refused to surrender was the Duke of Austria, brother-in-law to the deposed King of the Romans.

The year 1235 marks another change in Frederic's policy, for he then entered into good relations with England, married Isabella, the sister of Henry III., and bound the Welfs to his side by granting the new duchy of Brunswick to Otto of Lüneburg. But he could not stay long in the north, for events were happening in Italy which demanded his immediate attention. He accordingly had his nine-year-old son, Conrad, proclaimed King of the Romans in place of his brother and hurried off to Italy. However, he returned north for a brief space, in 1237, to assist in the campaign against the Duke of Austria, which ended in the capture of Vienna.

As early as 1232 the Lombard cities had renewed their league, and similar leagues were springing up in Tuscany and Umbria. No doubt this was largely due to the influence of Gregory. But what made the situation more threatening was the fact that these Italian leagues had promised support to the rebellious Henry. Mindful of former struggles the emperor thought that he would have no peace until the Lombard League was smashed once and for all. Following



his German policy he determined to set up the Ghibelline magnates of Northern Italy as a counterpoise to the towns. His chief supporters were two brothers of the house of Romano, by origin a German family. Eccelin had made himself master of Verona and Alberic of Vicenza. From Germany the emperor could get little support, but he reinforced the barons of the Po valley with his trusty Saracens from Lucera. At first success favoured the Imperial arms ; by a clever ambushade he destroyed the Lombard force at Cortenuova on November 27th, 1237, half-way between Milan and Brescia. This defeat almost broke up the league, and only a few stalwart cities like Milan, Alessandria and Piacenza held out. Frederic rewarded his general Eccelin da Romano by granting him one of his bastard daughters in marriage.

Up till now Gregory had not openly taken the side of the league. But enemies reported that after the triumph of Cortenuova Frederic had boasted that the pope's turn would come next, and that he would reduce all Italy to its obedience to the Imperial crown. For long Herman von Salza had struggled to prevent a breach between the emperor and the pope, but the grandmaster of the Teutonic Order died in March 1239. Gregory now for the second time launched a bull of excommunication against Frederic, and absolved all his subjects from their allegiance. The pope had strong allies in the Dominican and Franciscan friars, who by their powers of preaching and their ministrations to the sick were in touch with the people throughout western Europe. Both pope and emperor strove to win over public opinion. The pope accused Frederic of the most shameless profligacy, of blasphemy, and of being a heretic. The emperor retaliated by alleging that the pope in joining the Lombard League was supporting the Paterines, who were heretics. They both sent emissaries and letters of appeal for help to all the courts of the West.

Gregory strove to stir up a revolt in Germany, but for the time Frederic's policy towards the magnates proved its worth. They saw that there was little more that they could gain from the crown. Meanwhile, the German episcopate under the Archbishop of Mainz stood by the young King of the Romans, indignant at Gregory's attempt to persuade either the Duke of Austria or Robert of Artois, brother of St. Louis, to seize the crown.

Frederic proceeded to incorporate the duchy of Spoleto and the March of Ancona in the Imperial dominions: and then to concentrate his efforts against the Lombard League. The pope replied by summoning a general council to condemn the emperor. Frederic not unnaturally refused to give safe-conduct to those bishops who answered the summons. Thanks to the Pisan ships he was able to capture the Genoese fleet which was conducting the Spanish, French, and North Italian bishops to Rome. His bastard son Enzo, the king of Sardinia, escorted the prisoners to Naples, where they were kept 'heaped together like pigs.' Everything for the moment seemed to favour the Imperial cause, for, some time after the capture of the council in August 1241, Gregory died. Thereon Frederic withdrew into his own dominions under pretence of allowing the cardinals to assemble to choose a new pope. The choice fell on Celestine IV., who died a few weeks later. Then followed a papal interregnum of eighteen months. But at last the cardinals plucked up courage to elect Sinibaldo Fiesco. Sinibaldo took the title of Innocent IV., a title of ill-omen to the empire. Frederic, when he heard of the choice, lamented, 'I have lost a good friend, for no pope can be a Ghibelline.'

Meanwhile, in 1241, a Mongol invasion had swept over Russia, Poland and Hungary. The Teutonic knights whom Frederic had transferred from Palestine to Prussia were defeated, and for a moment it seemed as if Christian

Europe was in danger. But pope and emperor were too intent on their struggle for supremacy to think of Christendom. It was the death of the Baty, khan of the Tartars, which recalled the savage hordes. The back wave of the Tartar invasion fell on the Charismians, a savage tribe in Asia Minor. This tribe driven southwards was diverted by the Moslem caliphs to Palestine. Thus it was that in 1243 Jerusalem fell once again into Moslem hands.

But, in spite of this, Innocent IV., once he gained the papal tiara, thought of nothing but of humbling the emperor. Frederic accordingly again directed his forces against Rome itself. In June 1244 the Saracens were overrunning the Campagna, and the pope had to leave the Imperial city and fly northwards. He fixed on Lyons as his refuge. From there he issued a summons to a general council. A considerable number of prelates attended, though the number of French and Germans was not very great. Among the English prelates was the famous Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln. The pope declared that he had summoned the council to deal with five matters. To protect Christendom from the Tartars; to unite the eastern and western churches; to extirpate heresy; to revive the crusades; and lastly, to condemn the emperor. Frederic had sent as his representative to the council his chief justiciary, Thaddaeus of Suessa. Thaddaeus argued that his master was no heretic, because 'he will not allow any usurer to dwell within his dominions.' This was a most happy hit against the papal court. Then he demanded a respite to consult the emperor, who might be willing to appear before the council in person. To this the pope replied, 'God forbid, I have had enough already to escape his snares; if he come I go.' Thaddaeus was granted but a fortnight's respite, and during his absence, on July 17th, 1245, Innocent in the name of the council

deposed Frederic. 'We order,' he said, 'those who have the right of election within the empire to proceed at once to a fresh election. As regards Sicily, we ourselves will do what is fitting after taking the advice of our brethren the cardinals.'

The high-handed action of the pope caused civil war to spread from Italy to Germany. St. Louis of France in vain remonstrated with the pope, and in vain Frederic offered to allow an ecclesiastical commission to investigate his orthodoxy. The pope was implacable, and merely replied by promising the spiritual blessings, usually allowed only to crusaders, to all who would take up arms against the emperor. Papal intrigues in Germany resulted in the defection of the Archbishop of Cologne and three other great prelates. These ecclesiastics with some bishops and a few temporal princes met together and elected Henry, the margrave of Thuringia, as King of the Romans. Conrad summoned his warriors, and civil war ensued. After varying success, in 1247 Henry of Thuringia died. Thereon the papal party tried to persuade Haco of Norway to become their king, but he replied, 'I will willingly fight the enemies of the Church, but I will not fight against the foes of the pope.' At last Count William of Holland accepted the crown, and a dreary civil war raged over Germany for the next seven years.

Meanwhile, in Italy, Frederic, embittered by the pope's implacable hatred, threw prudence to the winds, and enlisted in his service the heretical Cathari of Lombardy. He seriously began to consider the question of setting himself up as a sort of mystical head of the Church in opposition to the pope, claiming to be vicar of Christ, a lay pope, a Christian caliph—nay, an emanation of the Deity. He was much influenced by the abbot Joachim, a Neapolitan seer, who had prophesied wonderful things about his reign. His policy to a great extent foreshadowed that

of those princes who some three hundred years later led the Reformation. His great maxim, borrowed from the Franciscans, was that 'It is upon poverty and simplicity that the Primitive Church was built up, in those days when she was the fruitful mother of saints. No one may presume to lay other foundations for her than those appointed by the Lord Jesus.' In practice he attempted to make the Church dependent on the state. He excluded all papal bulls, and condemned as heretics all who denied his absolute supremacy over the Church.

Meanwhile the war became more fierce and retaliation more brutal. Tuscany lay crushed, and Enzo and Eccelin seemed certain to shatter the Lombard League. Frederic was considering the possibility of crossing the Alps and capturing the pope at Lyons, when an event occurred which altered the whole complexion of affairs. In 1247 Parma was captured by a *coup-de-main* on the part of some desperate partisans of the Guelphic cause. Papal adherents resolved to hold it, and the unfortunate city became the centre of the struggle between the two contending parties. For over a year Frederic lay outside the town. Just when it seemed that the city must surrender, by a fatal error he relaxed his vigilance for but one day. The Parmesans made a bold sally, and before the emperor could return they captured the new town he had built up against the city, the whole of the court and his harem. Among the slain was Thaddaeus.

This disaster proved the turning point in the war. The papal party took courage: Frederic's claims to spiritual domination disgusted many of his adherents: the barons of Apulia rose in revolt. Under these disasters and the dread of assassination—for the pope stopped at nothing—Frederic became harsh, mistrustful and vindictive. His suspicion even fell on Peter de Vineia. He ordered his former confidant to be arrested, and had his eyes

torn out. The wretched man committed suicide to escape further tortures. In 1249 Enzo was defeated and captured. Next year, however, the Ghibelline cause was once again in the ascendant. But the good news came too late. Frederic, completely broken in health, spent the summer at Foggia; in the autumn he travelled north, but was taken ill at Florentino. There he knew he was dying, and his conviction was strengthened as he remembered an old prophecy which said he should die near iron gates at a town called Flora. 'This is the spot,' he said, 'long ago foretold where I must die. The will of God be done.' After drawing up his will he died calmly, as his friends said, in the white robe of a Cistercian; or, as his enemies said, racked by the hideous doubts of despair. He was buried some months later at Palermo.

With Frederic fell the empire. No other emperor attempted to re-establish its claims to world-wide supremacy. The year following his death was an interregnum. When the Imperial crown was restored it graced the brows of those who either looked on it as an empty title of honour, or a means of magnifying the importance of their own little German principalities. The sacerdotium had conquered the regnum. But its victory was short-lived, for soon the sacerdotium was itself to bow before the studium.

Though with Frederic fell his cherished aims, he is yet one of the most interesting studies in history. So great was his personal influence that many besides the followers of the abbot Joachim believed 'He shall resound among the people, he is alive, and yet is not alive.' Almost ten months after the emperor's death, Salimbene, a famous Lombard historian, could not believe that the news was true. It was not until he heard the pope himself declare it that he believed. A friend whispered to him, 'So the emperor is dead, which you would never believe! Put



away your Joachim!' Forty years later bets were still made in Germany that the great emperor would return with a mighty host.

It is as the type of the wonderful renaissance of the thirteenth century that Frederic is now best remembered. Even to us he seems a marvel, though so modern are his ideas that we can understand him better than any other mediæval character. But to those of his age he was an enigma. His contemporary title was *Stupor Mundi*—'the wonder of the world.' And well he might be so called with his marvellous versatility, his poetic genius, his scientific investigations, his breadth of view in the regions of theology and philosophy, his mastery of political craft, his quickness of perception even in military matters where least of all he shone.

At the commencement of his political career Frederic had a hard task. Seemingly overshadowed by the dominating personality of Innocent III., with no resources save a handful of knights and the prestige of the Hohenstaufen name, by sheer force of character he subjugated Germany, and thus quietly prepared for the great struggle with the Papacy. In this struggle he allowed neither justice nor morality to weaken his actions, and while we may blame his falsehood, cunning and cruelty, we must remember his early education, the whole course of which had been to implant in his mind that principles were nothing and opportunism everything. Looking back we can see clearly the lines on which he worked. Reading the lessons of the past he felt that the struggle must be fought out on Italian soil, and that it was impossible owing to geographical considerations to rule Germany from Italy. He accordingly determined, first of all, to establish an equilibrium in Germany which could not be upset by papal wiles, and then to concentrate his attention on Italy.

It was thus with deliberate intent that he set about to

strengthen the greater temporal and ecclesiastical princes in Germany. His policy was to grant them such extensive concessions that they became practically autonomous, and had no inducement to rebel against him. Thus he became to no small extent the founder of the political system which existed in Germany until Napoleonic times.

Meanwhile, in Italy he set himself to build up a highly centralised kingdom, rich and strong enough to enable him to maintain with proper dignity the position of emperor. For this purpose he systematically crushed all feudal and ecclesiastical franchises. Then feeling himself ready, choosing his own time, he went on to the East, and by his successful diplomacy completely threw into the shade the crusading efforts of the Papacy.

On his return he showed the pope that he was master. But the papal party would not own to defeat, and with the appearance of Gregory IX. their prospects brightened. Frederic was compelled to attempt to subdue the whole of the peninsula. He has been greatly blamed for so doing, but the policy of the Papacy being to overthrow him at all costs it is difficult to see what else he could have done. Had he been successful Italy might have found her unity in the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, with his death his empire crumbled like that of Napoleon, for it owed its existence entirely to the personality of its ruler. Though of course there are many differences, there is still a strong similarity between Frederic and Napoleon. Both of them captivated all those with whom they came into contact, and by their genius attracted even their enemies. They each believed in their destiny, and thought that the end ever justified the means. They both dreamed of a world-wide dominion, and as their ambitions grew their judgments became clouded, and they regarded facts not as they were but as they wished them to be. They could not believe that they were bound by the ordinary laws

of morality. They both failed to establish a lasting despotism founded on administration and law, and at their fall their empires perished with them.

But Frederic never reached the heights gained by Napoleon; for though Napoleon was quite as sensual he never, like Frederic, allowed his pleasures to interfere with his business. Let Salimbene's words stand for Frederic's epitaph, 'In truth there would have been few rulers in the world like him had he loved God, the Church, and his own soul.'

## CHARLES IV

THE thirteenth century, as we have seen, was an age of marvellous progress. New realms of speculation were opened up before men's eyes. In religion, in learning, and in culture possibilities were unfolding, such as had not been dreamt of for centuries. There was a quickening of life, a joy of living, an enthusiasm which is seen but seldom in the history of the world. But when ideals are realised, when knowledge is gained, when the first flush of conquest is passed, there invariably follows a reaction. There is not the same glamour in making good a position as there is in attacking and carrying a stronghold. After the enthusiast comes the practical man who has to assimilate the gains of his predecessors to the use of everyday life. With rules comes the consequent loss of elasticity. Society hardens down into that humdrum existence which seems necessary before another great step forward can be taken. Nature demands her periods of recuperation. Such a period was the fourteenth century.

We are taught to call the fourteenth century a time of decadence, for in it we find no great ideals, no burning enthusiasm. It is marked by a growing selfishness, and increasing demand for material things ; for greater comfort, greater wealth. Concurrently we notice in the establishment of estates of the realm or parliaments, in the growth of democratic institutions in the cities of Italy, and in the expansion of the Hanseatic League, that growing commercial spirit which was the true characteristic of the

age, rather than the so-called chivalry which flourished amid the thunder of the Hundred Years' War between France and England.

Frederic II. was the last emperor who had any claim to be called the spiritual descendant of Charlemagne, or rather of Otto the Great. On his death the component parts of the empire fell asunder. The title of emperor remained to the German king, but it was now an empty honour to be sold by the electors to whoever would pay the best price for it. At first the Imperial crown was offered to scions of the great royal families like Richard of Cornwall or Alfonso of Castile. But the experiment failed, when it was seen that the office brought with it but little honour and great expense. Thereafter it became customary for the electors to give the crown to some German prince of lesser rank, who would willingly grant away the Imperial fiefs in payment for the dignity, and whose family possessions were not so great that he could endanger the position of the electors themselves.

Originally the German kings had been chosen by the chief men, and approved of by the acclamations of the host. Gradually the choice of the monarch had fallen into the hands of the tenants-in-chief at the nomination of an inner ring of princes. By the middle of the thirteenth century custom, tradition and superstition fixed the number of the inner ring at the mystical figure of seven. From the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg in 1272, for some centuries the electors remained seven in number. The dignity was attached to the three archbishoprics of Cologne, Mainz and Trier, the crown of Bohemia, the dukedom of Saxony, the palatine countship of the Rhine, and the margravate of Brandenburg.

While the empire was thus in the throes of dissolution its rival, the Papacy, had fallen from its high position. The death of Frederic II. had not altogether freed it.

Frederic's illegitimate son Manfred had seized the crown of Sicily. Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. could not subdue him, and at last Urban IV. offered the crown to Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis of France. In 1266 Manfred fell in battle at Grandella, and by 1268 the death of his nephew Conradin, the last Hohenstaufen, brought resistance to an end. But Urban's successors found to their cost that Charles was too ambitious to be a comfortable neighbour, and it was only the brutality of his rule which prevented him from becoming monarch of Italy. In 1282 a vile insult offered to a woman by a French soldier, during a procession on Easter Monday, caused a rising in Palermo. Four thousand men, women and children, partisans of Charles, were massacred. This incident, known as the Sicilian Vespers, caused the opponents of the Angevin rule to summon to their aid Peter III., King of Aragon, who successfully established himself in the island. But the Angevins retained Naples; hence arose the title of the Two Sicilies, for it was not till 1435 that the crowns of Sicily and Naples were again joined under one ruler.

But though the Papacy was thus suddenly relieved from this new danger the days of its greatness were passed. The spiritual enthusiasm of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was dead. The occupiers of the papal throne now sought to rule as territorial princes. Like the new type of emperors, they used their powers to increase the dignity, importance, and possessions of their own families. The great clans of the Orsini and Colonna struggled with each other to place their nominees on the chair of St. Peter. It was little wonder, therefore, that the papal influence was on the wane, that Philip IV. of France and Edward I. should scorn the attempts of Boniface VIII. to prevent them from taxing the clergy for the defence of their realms, and that they retaliated on the pope for his bull 'Clericis Laicos.' The final degradation came when, in 1303,



French troops actually took the pope prisoner at Anagni. Thereafter, by French bribes, the Archbishop of Bordeaux became pope as Clement v. His election took place at Lyons, and he never ventured into Italy. From 1309 he resided at Avignon, a small papal enclave in Provence, only separated from France by the Rhone. Hence began what is known as the seventy years of 'The Babylonish Captivity.'

While the empire and the Papacy were thus on the wane, and Italy and Germany were breaking up into a medley of small semi-autonomous states, in western Europe we find an entirely different phenomenon. There we see the rise of national monarchies at the expense of the feudal baronage. In the Iberian Peninsula, from the beginning of the twelfth century, the Christians had gradually been recovering the country from the Moors. In 1139 Alfonso Henriquez, Count of Oporto and Coimbra, defeated the Moors at Ourique, and next year assumed the title of King of Portugal. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, thanks to the efforts of Innocent III., the kings of Aragon and Navarre joined Alfonso VIII. of Castile, and in 1212 was fought the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa which secured the final preponderance of Christianity in Spain. By the end of the thirteenth century the Moors had been driven southward, and their only possession was the little kingdom of Granada. This success was due mainly to the work of James I. of Aragon (1212-1276) and of Frederic III. of Castile (1214-1252.) But the very excellence of these rulers and of Alfonso X. of Castile, surnamed the Wise (1252-1284), tended to accentuate the differences between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, and prevented the growth of a united kingdom in the Peninsula.

In France the successors of Philip Augustus steadily placed before themselves the work of building up a strong monarchy, and of gradually extending their possessions

from the Pyrenées to the Rhine. This necessitated the expulsion of the English from Guienne. From the time of Philip IV., *le bel* (1285-1314), we find as an accepted axiom in the government of France, *que veut le roi, si veut la loi*. Philip was succeeded by his three sons, who all died without male issue living long enough to succeed them. Consequently in 1328 France was faced with the question whether she would be governed by a woman, or rather by that woman's husband, a foreign prince. To meet this situation the lawyers discovered the Salic Law, which, they maintained, laid down that the French could not be governed by a woman. Accordingly, the crown went to Philip of Valois, the heir male, a nephew of Philip IV.

Among the claimants to the French crown was Edward III. of England, whose mother Isabella was a daughter of Philip IV. Edward at first accepted the decision of the French, and did not press his claim. He was busy with the attempt to fulfil his grandfather's policy of incorporating Scotland in his dominions. But Philip, jealous of Edward and anxious for a pretext to attack Aquitaine, attempted to interfere with the wool trade in Flanders. Edward, justly recognising that this disturbed the whole economic fabric of England, retaliated, and, to gain the support of the Flemish, reasserted his claims to the crown of France. Hence out of purely commercial reasons arose the Great Hundred Years' War, the swan's song of Chivalry which produced the Order of the Garter and the famous Free Companies, the predecessors of Standing Armies.

In Germany, as we have said, since the death of Frederic II. the Imperial crown had become the gift of the electors. They tended to place it on the head of some German prince, who they considered had too little power to give them trouble. The policy of these new emperors was to utilise their position, to increase their family possessions. Rudolph, the first Hapsburg, had during his tenure of the

Imperial throne added to the small Swabian possessions of his family the Imperial fiefs of Styria, Carinthia and Austria. After the brief reign of Adolf of Nassau, Albert of Hapsburg had gained the crown, and attempted to seize for his family the kingdom of Bohemia. On his death the electors, thinking the Hapsburgs were getting too powerful, decided to make a complete change. The Emperor Henry seemed to justify their choice. Instead of attempting to aggrandise the Luxemburgs, he set before himself the task of re-establishing the power of the empire in Italy. His career was cut short by poison, but not before his son John raised the prestige of his house by marrying Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of Wenzel II. of the old dynasty, that represented the Bohemian cause against Henry of Carinthia, the Hapsburg candidate. On the death of his father the electors passed over John as too young for the Imperial crown, and to spite the Hapsburgs elected Louis of Bavaria.

The reign of Louis (1313-1347) was marked by constant quarrels between the empire and the Papacy, due to the demand of the pope to decide disputed Imperial elections. The emperor was assisted in his struggle by a vigorous national sentiment, for the people of Germany felt that the pope was merely a tool of the king of France. They resented the attempted interference of a hostile power. This national feeling found expression in the declaration of Rense (1338)—which was endorsed by the diet of Frankfort—that the prince who was legally chosen by the electors should become king and emperor, without any further ceremony or confirmation. Meanwhile, the Emperor Louis was working hard to aggrandise his own house. On the death of his cousin he seized Lower Bavaria. On the extinction of the old Ascanian line he conferred Brandenburg on his son Louis. He took upon himself to annul the marriage of Margaret of Hapsburg and of the Tyrol with John of Bohemia, and remarried her to his own son

Louis. Hence he alienated both the clergy and the lay princes. Clement VI., the new pope, elected in 1346, took advantage of this dissatisfaction to organise a party against him. A Frenchman by birth, he longed to see the Imperial crown on the brow of the king of France. Failing that, he looked about for a suitable candidate. John of Bohemia, son of the Luxemburg emperor, was now blind, having lost his sight in a campaign against the heathen Wends. He accordingly was ineligible, so the pope fixed on Charles, his second and most capable son. Charles had been brought up at the French court, his aunt was Queen of France, and his whole inclination and training made him more French than German. He had had also some considerable experience of war and politics in the Peninsula during the brief period his father had successfully united all parties in Italy.

On June 11th, 1346, Charles was elected King of the Romans by the votes of the three electoral archbishops and those of his father, John of Bohemia, and of Rudolf of Saxony. But in spite of this election his chances of succeeding to the Imperial throne seemed small. The house of Luxemburg, in addition to the little principality of that name, possessed Bohemia. But, in addition to Bavaria, the Wittelsbachs ruled over the palatinate, the Tyrol, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Utrecht, while at the head of the Swabian League was Stephen, second son of the Emperor Louis.

Immediately after the election the quixotic old king of Bohemia hurried off with his son to help Philip of France in his war with England. The battle of Crecy was in fact Charles' first appearance as King of the Romans. There, while his father lost his life but gained immortal fame, Charles seems early in the day to have considered discretion the better part of valour. From the stricken field he reappeared in Germany as the Pfaffen-Kaiser, or 'parson

emperor.' Discredited in war, derided as the tool of the Papacy, a man who appeared to think 'that honour had vanished leaving caution in its stead,' Charles seemed the most contemptible of antagonists. The Imperial cities refused to open their gates to him. Everywhere men spoke of the boast of Pope Clement that he held the Imperial crown in his gift. It was shrewdly suspected that the puppet emperor had gone back on the declaration of Rense, and had admitted that the Imperial coronation could not take place until confirmation had been given by the pope. Further, men declared that he had agreed to allow the pope to arbitrate between France and Germany.

But though he lacked personal courage on the field of battle, Charles was endowed with a dogged perseverance and an insensibility to humiliation, which in the long run won him the victory. Fraud and cunning were his weapons; *optimum aliena insania frui* was his motto. Rejected and jeered at by the German princes, he found in Bohemia a strong support. From there he waged an unequal civil war against the Emperor Louis, until slowly fortune turned to his side. The people of Brandenburg had no love for their new margrave, the son of the Emperor Louis; it only required the appearance of a pretender for them to rise against his rule. Such a one was speedily found by the instigation of Charles. Waldemar, the last of the Ascanian margraves of Brandenburg, had died as long ago as 1319. Jacob Rehbock, a miller, who bore a close personal resemblance to Waldemar, was encouraged by Charles and the Archbishop of Magdeburg to impersonate the dead margrave. The story was spread that Waldemar had never died, but had gone on a long pilgrimage to expiate a secret crime which weighed on his conscience. Soon nearly the whole of Brandenburg rose for the 'false Waldemar.' Charles sent men and money to his aid. The Wittelsbachs quickly lost nearly all Brandenburg save



Frankfort-on-the-Oder, which Charles himself invested with his army.

Meanwhile, the Emperor Louis, the Bavarian, died on October 11th, 1347. Thereon the electors of Brandenburg, the palatinate, Maintz and Saxony offered the Imperial crown to Edward III. of England, who had assisted the Bavarian cause by preventing France from sending aid to Charles. But Edward, even if he desired the honour, could not accept it. The war with France engaged all his attention; moreover, the English parliament refused to allow him to accept a position which might sacrifice England to Germany. The electors next offered the crown to Louis of Brandenburg, son of the late emperor. But he preferred Brandenburg to the empire, and confined his attention to trying to recover that province from Charles and the false Waldemar. Frederic of Meissen, in turn, refused the barren honour. At last Gunther of Schwartzburg, a distinguished knight, but below the princely rank, was prevailed on to become the Imperial candidate. But before the electors could avail themselves of Gunther's well-known military skill he died in 1349, some say of the plague, others of poison administered by one of Charles' emissaries.

Meanwhile, during 1348 the Black Death was sweeping over Europe, devastating the country, and leaving in its train anarchy, disorder, and administrative ruin. Men felt that it was no time to increase confusion by civil war, and after the death of Gunther all parties acquiesced in the rule of Charles. Charles himself had been steadily strengthening his position, and dividing his foes. He had cunningly pointed out to Edward the need of an alliance between them both against the king of France. He allowed no feelings of sentiment, friendship, or gratitude to stand in the way of advancement. One by one, by the concession of privileges, he gained over the Imperial cities,



disunited by the death of the Emperor Louis and the ravages of the plague. He won the Hapsburgs to his side by a marriage between his second daughter Catharine and Rudolf, the eldest son of Albert of Austria. Next he broke up the Wittelsbach family compact by suing for the hand of Anne, daughter of the Elector Palatine, the head of the Wittelsbachs. Finally, he threw over the false Waldemar and reconciled himself with his most bitter opponent, Louis of Brandenburg. Thus by 1350 he was acknowledged as emperor throughout all Germany.

While busily engaged in securing the Imperial crown, Charles was taking steps to build up for his family a position which, he hoped, might enable it—whether the Imperial crown remained with it or no—to control the destinies of Germany. Bohemia was to be the key of the Luxemburg position. If possible, other electoral possessions were to be gained as *points d'appui*. On Bohemia Charles lavished such care that he has been called the 'father of Bohemia and the stepfather of the empire.' Even during the troubled years of 1347-1348 he was working hard at his plans. Thanks to his position as protégé of the pope he was able to procure a bull from Clement vi., whereby Prague was turned into a metropolitan see, independent of its former superior, the Archbishop of Maintz. In 1348, during the turmoil of civil war, he laid the foundation of the University of Prague, modelled closely on the lines of that of Paris, where he had himself studied in his youth. He eagerly set himself to increase and beautify the cities of Prague and Breslau, and with his own hands drew the plans for their extension. It is to him that Prague owns its famous bridge over the Moldau, and many of its finest buildings. The university soon fully justified the hopes of its founder. German and Slavonic nobles, merchants and students flocked to its halls, leaving again to spread the light of learning and the idea of

patriotism throughout the possessions of the house of Luxemburg. But Charles had wider ambitions still. He founded at Prague a house of Slavonic monks drawn from Bosnia, Croatia and Servia. His idea was to bind together Bohemia and the Slav states throughout Europe, and ultimately pave the way for a union between the Latin and Greek churches.

Charles was quick enough to perceive that while land was still a *sine qua non* to power, and while religion and education were important in promoting national growth, more and more commerce and industry were becoming the great factors in the politics of the world. He accordingly set himself to foster the commerce of Bohemia and of Silesia. His commercial ideas did not rise superior to his age, and were probably those best suited to the circumstances of the day. The foreigner was rigidly supervised and the native protected. Every foreigner was compelled to expose his wares for sale in Prague, and was not allowed to withhold or retail his goods; all bargains had to be conducted through a native merchant, and sold by Bohemian weight and measure. The approaches to Bohemia were improved: the waterway of the Moldau was made navigable to the Elbe. Charles even projected a canal to join the Moldau and the Danube, and thus to construct a new means of communication through Bohemia for the trade between Venice and the Hanseatic cities of the north. The tolls on the rivers were lowered, the roads were improved, and a better system of coinage was introduced.

While the founding of a strong Bohemia was the darling scheme of Charles' life, he was not oblivious of his duties as emperor; he had, indeed, clear plans as to the future of the Imperial policy. No one saw better than he did that the connection with Italy had destroyed the Imperial prestige and ruined Germany. But he was bound to the

Papacy by the treaty made at the time of his election as King of the Romans. In his anxiety to afford no pretext to his enemies, he determined, in 1354, to proceed to Italy, and there to go through the ceremony of coronation. Thereafter, he thought, would be the time to unfold those schemes of reformation which he had long been planning. So far he had consistently abstained from interference in Italian politics. Indeed, when, in 1351, Cola di Rienzi, the famous Roman tribune, had fled to Prague and demanded an audience he had merely listened to his schemes with curiosity. Rienzi proposed that the pope and the clergy should be dispossessed of their temporal authority, that the petty tyrants should be driven out, and that the emperor, as supreme ruler of Christendom, should fix his headquarters at Rome. Charles had no intention of allowing himself to be drawn into such an intrigue. Under the pretext that Rienzi's communistic ideas were heretical he handed him over to the Archbishop of Prague, and allowed that metropolitan to send him in chains to the pope. After some years of imprisonment Innocent VI. had won over Rienzi to his side, and at the time of the emperor's visit to Italy the former tribune was at Rome as a papal agent. The Ghibelline leaders, disgusted at this tergiversation, were anxious to hail the emperor as the restorer of national unity. But Charles refused to listen to their envoys, and turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of Petrarch; though he bestowed marks of distinction on the famous poet, and saluted the beautiful Laura. From Milan, where he was crowned with the iron crown, he hurried on to Rome, fomenting disputes between the petty Italian princes by the sale of privileges, and gaining the admiration of the pope by the purchase of relics, with which to decorate the churches of Bohemia. The Ghibellines, furious at his action, set fire to the house he lodged in at Pisa. As emperor-elect he entered Rome clad in his

Imperial robes, and was received with great enthusiasm by the legates. But immediately after the coronation he retired outside the walls to San Lorenzo, and the next day set off hurriedly on his journey to the north.

Thus freed from all foreign entanglements Charles was ready next year to proceed with his plans for the reconstruction of Germany. The result of numerous conferences, held during 1355-1356, was the famous Golden Bull, which regulated the Holy Roman Empire till its destruction in 1806. Mr. Bryce in his well-known epigram has said that Charles 'legalised anarchy and called it a constitution.' But a careful review of the facts proves that he has been much maligned. There were two great evils in the body politic of the German kingdom: first, the difficulty of choosing a head; second, the absence of anything like political unity, owing to the scanty authority possessed by the crown. Both these difficulties arose from the fact that the German king was in theory the emperor of the West. As the emperor was supposed, like the pope, to be the head of the human race, it followed that the empire, 'the common inheritance of mankind, could not be compared to any family, nor pass like a private estate by the ordinary rules of descent.' If, in future, confusion and disputed elections were to be avoided, there must be first of all some proper rules for election and machinery, whereby the elected head might be able to control the electors, princes, knights and imperial cities which formed the body politic. We have seen how by Charles' time the number of the electors had been reduced to seven—three ecclesiastical and four temporal princes. But in the case of the temporal electors, owing to the system of subdivision among all male heirs so prevalent in Germany, there was often a dispute as to the member of the family to whom the electoral vote belonged. In 1314, 1346 and 1348, the Saxon vote had been given on opposite sides by two rival

electors. The house of Wittelsbach was also now split into two distinct branches, the one owning the palatinate of the Rhine, the other Bavaria. Owing to the lack of authority in the Imperial crown warfare was common between the greater princes. The knights were turning into small robber chiefs, and the cities were tending to become, as in Italy, petty independent republics. The outlying provinces were seceding or being eaten up. France, who had already annexed Lyons, and for all purposes Dauphiné, was the chief aggressor. Provence and Franche Comté were more obedient to her than to their legal lord.

It was to remedy this state of affairs that in 1356 Charles, with the assent of the country at large, published the Golden Bull. The seven electoral votes, as before, were to belong to the three archbishoprics, Mainz, Cologne and Trier, and to the crown of Bohemia, the palatinate of the Rhine, the dukedom of Saxony, and the margravate of Brandenburg. Further, to enhance their importance certain Imperial dignities were given to the electors. The Archbishop of Mainz was granted the title of Chancellor of Germany, the Archbishop of Cologne became Chancellor of Italy, and the Archbishop of Trier Chancellor of Arles. The King of Bohemia became hereditary Chief Cupbearer, the Count Palatine Grand Seneschal, the Duke of Saxony Grand Marshal, and the Margrave of Brandenburg Grand Chamberlain. In future, Imperial elections were to be decided by a majority of votes in the electoral college, which was to be held at Frankfort. The elected sovereign was to be crowned at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), and hold his first diet at Nürnberg. The Electors were to take precedence of all other princes. Their possessions were made hereditary and inalienable in the male line, and subject to the law of primogeniture. During a minority the guardianship of the elector and the electoral vote was to be restricted to



the nearest male relative on the father's side. The electors were made all but independent sovereigns; they were granted the rights of coinage and of final jurisdiction in their own territories. Their authority was further increased by the clause which forbade all confederations of subjects without the consent of the territorial lord. This section was directed against the Swabian towns and the Swiss cantons which had formed leagues and almost completely emancipated themselves from feudal control. Another clause forbade the towns to grant citizenship to *pfahlbürger*, that is, to merchants and strangers; it also forbade their receiving and protecting runaway serfs.

The result of the Golden Bull was to erect in Germany a federation of autonomous states in place of a monarchy. For the next five hundred years it prevented Germany from becoming a consolidated kingdom. But it certainly tended to put an end to further disruption. It did away with many of the uncertainties which had caused anarchy in the past, and it no doubt fostered the growth of local characteristics which have since proved of great benefit to the German people at large. Moreover, it broke the connection between Germany and Italy, which had for so long been a source of weakness and trouble, and it definitely ended the interference of the pope in German affairs. The papal claim to confirm or veto an election was not mentioned, and in fact, though not in word, the Golden Bull legalised the revolution of Rense. Innocent VI. indeed understood quite clearly that the bull put an end to papal influence in Germany, and he used all his force to oppose it. But Charles was now strong enough to resist the Papacy, and when the papal nuncio attempted to levy a tenth on the clerical revenues, the emperor retaliated by threatening to confiscate the property of the Church, on the plea of ecclesiastical reform.

Charles never expected that the Golden Bull would be



the final word on the constitution of Germany. He all along regarded it as a temporary expedient to stop disruption. All he hoped was for the time to check French aggression, to curb the growing independence of the princes, and to checkmate the ambition of the house of Hapsburg and the Bavarian Wittelsbachs. Meanwhile, he intended step by step to add to the territorial possessions of the Luxemburgs, until his successors had such a predominance in the electoral college that the crown might become practically hereditary in their house. He aimed in fact at creating a territorial monarchy in Germany like that erected by the kings of France and England, of which but one family, and that the Luxemburgs, should be rulers. But this was not to be, and by the irony of fate the Hapsburgs succeeded to the position which Charles had foreshadowed for his successors.

With this policy before him, the emperor abstained when possible from all interference in European politics, and confined his attention to building up carefully the strength of his house. The first opportunity came in 1356, when John, Duke of Brabant, died. His daughter had married Wenzel, Duke of Luxemburg, Charles' youngest brother. The Count of Flanders laid claim to Brabant, but Charles supported his sister-in-law and the estates of Brabant. An agreement was drawn up whereby in default of heirs being born to the duchess, the province of Brabant should fall in to the main line of Luxemburg. He himself on the death of Anne of Hapsburg married Elizabeth of Pomerania, a niece of Casimir of Poland, a woman of such extraordinary strength that she could wrench a horse shoe in two. The marriage was politic, as under Casimir the Great the Polish kingdom was becoming an important power. In 1364, Charles concluded with the house of Hapsburg one of those family compacts which form so marked a feature of the dynastic

policy of the princes of Germany. In 1363 Meinhard, the only son of Margaret Maultasch of the Tyrol and Louis of Brandenburg, died. Rudolf of Austria at once laid claim to the Tyrol. He had shown his hostility to the Golden Bull by assuming the title of archduke. Charles saw an opportunity of conciliating him, and of perhaps ultimately gaining the Hapsburg possessions for the house of Luxemburg. Accordingly he granted the investiture of the Tyrol to Rudolf, on condition that the archduke agreed to a treaty of mutual inheritance, whereby, in the event of the extinction of either house, the other should inherit all its lands. At the moment it seemed much the more probable that the Hapsburgs would be the first to die out. As a matter of fact the treaty was never observed. But by the time, a century later, the Luxemburgs were extinct, the Hapsburgs by conquest or otherwise had gained nearly all their inheritance.

In 1373 Charles acquired for his house a second vote in the electoral college, when he induced Otto, the Wittelsbach margrave of Brandenburg, to cede that province to him. By a treaty made at the time of the death of the Emperor Louis, Louis of Brandenburg had waived his rights to Upper Bavaria in favour of his brothers, Louis the Roman and Otto. But another brother, Stephen, stepped in, and was recognised as duke by the electors of Bavaria. The dispossessed brothers turned to Charles, who promised them help, on the understanding that, if they died without heirs, the emperor should succeed to Brandenburg. By 1373, Louis the Roman had died, and Charles induced the survivor, Otto, to place him in possession of Brandenburg, which he destined for his son Sigismund, whom he had betrothed to Mary, daughter of the Angevin Louis, the great king of Hungary.

The next link in the chain of intrigue was to secure for his son the succession to the Imperial crown. As early

as 1374 he began to sound the electors on this subject. Wenzel, his son by Anne of Schweidnitz, his second wife, was now fifteen years old. There was nothing said in the Golden Bull as to the election of a successor during the life of the emperor ; in fact, the whole machinery as instituted by the bull provided against such an occurrence. Charles, however, having always regarded the bull as a temporary expedient, had no scruples about acting contrary to its spirit. Judicious bribes and blandishments, and the possession of two votes in his family, overcame the reluctance of the remaining electors. On June 16th, 1376, Wenzel was elected King of the Romans at Frankfort, and crowned three weeks later at Aachen.

While thus partly successful in the object of his life, Charles had to put up with many rebuffs on other points. Having, as he thought, for the time placed the empire on a sure footing, he desired if possible to put an end to the subserviency of the Papacy to the king of France. The papal residence at Avignon was prejudicial to German interests, and a cause of scandal to Europe. In 1368 Charles induced Pope Urban v. to return to Rome, where for the last fourteen years Cardinal Albornoz had ruled the city in the names of successive popes. The cardinal had been extremely successful, and had gained over the whole of Romagna. He had also seized the opportunity of quarrels between the Visconti of Milan to seize Bologna. But when Urban v. entered Rome in 1369, in spite of the arrival of the emperor in the next year, he found it a very uncomfortable residence. The Visconti had declared war against him with the object of recovering Bologna. They cared nothing for bulls of excommunication. Bernabo Visconti made the legate who brought the bull eat it, parchment, lead-seal and all. Charles, however, refused to allow himself to be dragged into war with Milan on behalf of the Papacy. He hurried back to

Germany in 1369, and a year later the pope returned to Avignon. In spite of the fact that both emperor and pope lost prestige by this expedition, Charles still clung to his desire of seeing the pope once more installed at Rome. In 1377 he induced the new pope, Gregory XI., to return to Italy: Gregory found a few months' residence there more than sufficient, and retired to Avignon to die. The election of his successor took place in Rome, and an Italian was raised to the papal chair, as Urban VI. The new pope alienated the French cardinals by his violence. They very soon withdrew to Avignon and elected a rival pope, Clement VII. Thus the net result of Charles' interference was to start 'The Great Schism' in the Church which lasted forty years. Charles was bitterly disappointed by the failure of his diplomacy. He was actually trying to organise a coalition to oppose the French king and the French pope, when his death intervened.

It was not only in his foreign policy that the last years of Charles' rule were unsuccessful. The Hanseatic towns of the north which controlled the trade with the Baltic, and were also the northern depots of the trade from the East, had become so strong that they might any day become formidable. In 1370, after carrying on a successful war against Denmark, they forced Waldemar III. to sue for peace at Stralsund. In the south the Swabian towns refused to recognise Wenzel, being furious because the Imperial domains in Swabia had been used to purchase his election. In 1376, at Ulm, they renewed the Swabian League, and in the following year successfully defeated the forces of their old enemy the Count of Württemberg. Charles was getting too old and too feeble to check the expansion of the league. He was glad to allow Wenzel to make terms with the malcontents and cede to them the right of union, thus deliberately throwing over one of the provisions of the Golden Bull.

Charles himself showed but scant respect for the bull. He divided Brandenburg from Bohemia, thus breaking his pledged word, and at the same time acting directly contrary to the rules of primogeniture laid down by himself. He carved out a duchy of Lausitz for his third son, John of Görlitz. Luxemburg itself at the time of his death was still in the hands of Wenzel, his own brother, the husband of the Duchess of Brabant and Limburg. So when he died on November 29th, 1378, all that Charles left to his drunken eldest son Wenzel was Bohemia, Silesia and the Imperial crown, to which he succeeded as King of the Romans.

Apart from the fact that he gave the shape to the Holy Roman Empire which it maintained till the Napoleonic wars, Charles is an interesting character as a typical example of the age. In person and character he was a Slav, not a Teuton. His Bohemian blood, which he inherited through his mother, the daughter of Wenzel II. of Bohemia, predominated over that of his father. He was small, thick-set, with drooping shoulders, bent head, high cheek bones and coal-black hair. Extremely versatile, he had profited by his education at Paris, and the years he had passed at Avignon. He was deeply versed in the learning of the age, and spoke five languages fluently. There still exists part of his biography which he compiled himself. He had the eastern love for pomp and display. He loved to wear the Imperial crown and robes. Yet in spite of his gorgeousness he was often extremely short of money. It is related that on one occasion he was arrested in Worms by a butcher, and detained at an inn until he could pay the bill for his food. While in his outward display Charles betrayed his Slavonic descent, he yet stands out in great contrast to the other members of his house. His father—the old blind king of Bohemia, of Crecy fame—is the typical knight errant of chivalry. Wenzel,



his eldest son, was the typical Teutonic boor. Sigismund, his second son—the last emperor of the Luxemburg house—with greater opportunities had not his stability, for he allowed himself to be won away from German politics by the vague longings for playing in Italy and elsewhere the rôle of universal emperor.

By his appreciation of the importance of education and commerce, by his acquiescence in facts, in his recognition of what was practical, and by the cleverness with which he made what use he could of the means he had in hand, Charles effected much for Germany, and, indeed, for Europe. How much he actually did we can best understand when we remember, that it was by adopting his policy, that the Hapsburgs built up their power, and that it was by following his line of action that they saved Germany from the fate which dogged Italy up to the middle of the nineteenth century. It was not Charles' fault, but the unfortunate policy of the Hohenstaufen, a century earlier, which prevented the growth of a strong monarchy in Germany. The system of feudal states which he inaugurated, under the leadership of what he hoped would be the Luxemburgs, but which actually turned out to be the Hapsburgs, was probably the best expedient which was possible. It is manifestly, therefore, a great injustice to label him with the title of Stepfather of the Empire.



## LORENZO DE' MEDICI

THE fourteenth century, as we have seen, produced but few great men ; it was a period of rest ; civilisation was making good the ground already gained, and material wealth was increasing. In the fifteenth century the seeds of new ideas, which had been slowly and unobtrusively germinating, burst forth into a splendour which has been the delight and admiration of succeeding ages. Italy was the garden which produced the most splendid crop.

There were many causes which led to this. First, owing to its geographical formation, the Italian Peninsula naturally fell into certain closely defined units. Secondly, because of the claims to universal power, first by the empire and then by the Papacy, the valleys of the Po and of the Arno, the highlands of the Apennines, the Campagna of Rome, the sea coast round Naples, the downlands of Apulia, the wilds of Calabria, and the island of Sicily, instead of being drawn together, became, as time wore on, more and more distinct in their aspirations and their governments. Thus it was that, after the disappearance of the Hohenstaufen, Italy fell into a number of self-contained units somewhat resembling the city-states of ancient Greece.

In the north was Genoa, during the fourteenth century the great rival of Venice for the trade of the East, but defeated in the fifteenth century and glad to become the tributary of Milan. Occupying the basin of the valley of the Po lay Milan—the founder of the republican League of

the Lombard cities in the days of Barbarossa—the stronghold of the Guelfic party, but the first to fall from the democratic ideal. Still, in the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth, under the Visconti, and later under the Sforzas, Milan prospered, and was ever ready to contest with Venice the supremacy over the cities which lay between them. A succession of wars at last fixed the Adda as the boundary between the two states. Venice had early become an oligarchy; she owed her power first of all to her island position, and secondly to her trade with the East. She was forced to enter into Italian politics to secure for herself granaries on the mainland: this was the reason of her long wars with Milan. Southward from where the Via Flaminia crosses the Po at Piacenza lay the states of Modena, Ferrara, Bologna and Reggio. These little republics were the constant prey of Venice, Milan, and the pope. Westward from these, on the other side of the Apennines, lay Florence, the most democratic of Italian states, singularly favoured alike by climatic and geographical situation. Southwards across the Peninsula straddled the states of the Church, nominally under the direct control of the pope; but, during the period of the Babylonish captivity, split up into little republics, falling, as the case might be, into the hands of an oligarchy, a tyrant, or a demagogue. Rome, perhaps, is typical of the rest, at times the prey of the Orsini and Colonna, at times madly following the Tribune Rienzi, at other times submissive to Cardinal Albornoz. The lower part of the Peninsula formed the kingdom of Naples, nominally a fief of the Papacy. Up to the beginning of the fifteenth century the crown of Naples had remained in the hands of the Angevins, though with many disputes, owing to the lack of direct male heirs. In 1435 Joanna, the last Angevin, died, and after a lengthy war Alfonso v. of Sicily once again united the crowns of Naples and Sicily.

The consequence of this aggregation of small states was that Italy was extremely weak. The bigger states were all jealous of each other and anxious to absorb their smaller neighbours. In the states where an oligarchy held sway, there was constant faction fighting, while in those which lay under a despotism there were constant conspiracies. This state of uncertainty had one redeeming feature: it produced an intense feeling of local patriotism, but by adding hatred and suspicion of all the other states it effectually closed the way to any growth of national sentiment. Originally the citizens of each state all served in the army; but the constant succession of campaigns, the increasing length of the wars, and the superiority of the professional soldier over the armed citizen, led to the employment of the condottieri. Consequently, the great majority of the people of Italy entirely neglected the training of arms, and gave themselves up to the pursuit of commerce. Thus there grew up in every state a large class of rich leisured citizens, whose existence produced the demand for learning and art, which did so much to stimulate the Renaissance.

In Italy, in the fourteenth century, there had already commenced a reaction from the barren dialectics of the school men, who neglected all forms of research and concentrated their attention on logic and metaphysics. This reaction was equally aimed at theology, which was the only study not superseded by dialectics. A school of thought began to take form (of which Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) is the chief exponent), which concentrated its attention on the study of ancient literature. The spirit which animated these scholars was threefold. First they studied the great Latin authors for the excellence of their style and literary form, and secondly because they found there a conception of life which was lost: a life which was far more generous, more rational, and more joyous than the

life of the Middle Ages. To these students the classical literature of antiquity 'was not merely a model, but a culture and indeed a life.' They used the expression *litterae humaniores* not to differentiate secular from theological literature, but to denote the abiding and refining influence derived from classical literature and liberal art. The students of the fourteenth century regarded the study of the classics as the key to a higher form of life, which was not contrary to the Christian life but supplementary to it. It was not till well on in the fifteenth century that to attain the joy of life became regarded as a higher ideal than to follow the duty of life. But by the end of the century the Renaissance was deeply saturated with what is called 'neo-paganism.' Thirdly, the imitation of the ancients was no mere pedantic exercise, for the Italians were fired with the desire to rescue from its degraded form the tongue of their ancestors; that language which had once been the common tongue of the civilised world.

With this new impetus to the study of classics came the necessity of learning Greek. The study of Greek had never entirely died out in Europe, but the number of students of classical Greek in the early years of the fourteenth century was very few; indeed there were not many in Constantinople itself who knew the language in its classic form. Still, owing to the close connection between Italy and Constantinople, there were a considerable number of people in Italy who had a working knowledge of the Greek dialect of the day. Petrarch, to use his Anglicised name, actually began to study it, but did not proceed far. Boccaccio, of Decameron fame, at the advice of his friend Petrarch made some considerable progress with it. The first real teacher of Greek in Italy was Manuel Chrysoloras, who lectured on Greek in Florence from 1397-1400. The enthusiasm that his visit created was immense, as one of his students wrote—'Chrysoloras of Byzantium . . . brought us Greek learning.

. . . I gave myself up to his teaching with such ardour that my dreams at night were filled with what I had learned from him by day.' From the time of this visit of Chrysoloras Italy never had cause to complain of the want of teachers of classical Greek. The demand was so great and the reward so munificent.

Another consequence of the Renaissance was the systematic search for manuscripts of the classical writers. For centuries the Church had set its face against all secular learning, but there remained scattered throughout the monasteries of Europe and Asia Minor numerous manuscripts, often in a very bad state of repair. A regular manuscript trade grew up. Men like Vespasiano da Bisticci of Florence (1421-1498) employed agents all over Europe to search the monasteries for manuscripts, and a large staff of trained men to repair and copy them. One of the most noted private collectors was Niccolo di Niccoli of Florence. His house was a veritable museum of marbles, coins, gems, and other relics of antiquity. He it was who secured the famous eleventh-century codex containing the work of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Apollonius Rhodius. At his death in 1437 he bequeathed eight hundred manuscripts to Cosmo de' Medici. It is to the efforts of private individuals such as Niccoli that we owe the foundation in the fifteenth century of the great Italian libraries like the Laurentian and the Vatican.

In spite of the incessant search for manuscripts, their careful reproduction and the gradual formation of libraries, copies of the classics and books of all sorts would have still remained scarce if it had not been for the introduction of printing. Without this discovery, the cultivation of letters would have always been slow, and confined purely to the wealthy and leisured classes. The honour of this new discovery lay with the Teutonic race, and is variously ascribed to John Koster of Haarlem (1438), John Fust of



Maintz (1443), and John Gutenberg of Maintz, who, in 1450, invented movable cut-metal types. It was from Maintz that the art of printing spread over Europe. In 1465 the German printers Schweinheim and Pannartz set up at Subiaco the first printing-press in Italy; within six years presses were established at Rome, Milan and Florence.

Lorenzo de' Medici, known as the Magnificent, whose name is always so closely connected with the Renaissance, was born at Florence in the year 1448. His father was Piero, son of Cosmo de' Medici, the first of the family to make that position for himself in the state which, although quite unofficial, became the hereditary prize of his descendants. In the thirteenth century the citizens of Florence had founded a republic of a curious plutocratic type. Tired of continuous struggles between Ghibelline and Guelfic barons, and of the tyranny of whichever party was at the moment supreme, on the news of the Sicilian Vespers the citizens rose against the nobles and frightened them into agreeing to a new constitution. A new magistracy was set up, called the 'Priori delle Arti.' This was composed, at first, of three magistrates, but soon afterwards of six, chosen from the seven greater guilds (*arti maggiori*). They formed the executive power or signory; but they only held office for two months at a time, and could not be re-elected for two years. The seven greater guilds were the corporations of the cloth merchants, woolweavers, bankers, silk manufacturers, physicians, furriers and lawyers. There soon appeared some sixteen other guilds (*arti minori*). Thus there became four distinct orders in the state. The *grandi* or nobles, the *popolo grasso* or members of the greater guilds, the *popolo minuto* or members of the lower guilds, and the *ciompi* or proletariat, who had no part in the making of government.

Very soon the *grandi* were excluded from all political influence, and a special executive police magistrate or



*gonfalonier* was devised to enforce the ordinances against them, and to command the permanent police. Early in the fourteenth century it was found that owing to the custom of holding office for only two months the executive was weak. An additional council was accordingly set up of twelve *buonuomini*—two men elected for each district who held office for six months. To avoid faction fights, elections were no longer conducted by a show of hands, but by lot. A *squittinio* or scrutiny of the names of all eligible citizens was held every two years: the names thus elected were placed in a bag and a draw took place every two months. The *squittinio* was carried out by a committee of the signory for the time being and the council of the greater guilds and other influential citizens. Thus the party that was in power at the *squittinio*, by rejecting the names of its opponents, could practically control the state for the next two years. But to provide against oppression, there was an authorised form of *coup d'état*, whereby a parliament or meeting of all the citizens could elect a *balia* or committee to reorganise the constitution.

As might be expected the oligarchy of the *popolo grasso* became closer and closer; one of the favourite devices of the family or group of families in power being to select the names from the bag, instead of drawing them by lot. It is as the champion of the people that the Medici first appear in the pages of history; in 1378, during the gonfaloniership of Salvestro de' Medici, a revolution was effected whereby the *ciompi* gained some small power by the formation of new guilds of artisans, and the *popolo minuto* became eligible for the position of *priori delle arti*. Salvestro's descendants gradually built up for themselves an enormous fortune as bankers. In 1431, one of his collateral descendants, Giovanni, was drawn as *gonfalonier*. He was a well-known opponent of the oligarchy. His son Cosmo was more ambitious and less cautious than his father, and in

consequence in 1433 suffered banishment at the hands of the oligarchy under Rinaldo degli Albizzi. The ill success of Albizzi's war against Milan gave the citizens an opportunity of recalling Cosmo; and from October 6th, 1434, the day of his return, for the next three centuries the history of the Medici became the history of Florence.

Cosmo never forgot that he owed his position to his championship of the people. He was careful not to obtrude his power or that of his family. While he used the same means—notably the arbitrary allocation of the income tax—to rid himself of his opponents, he constantly conciliated the citizens at large by transferring families from the lower guilds into the greater. He further strengthened his position by making the *balia* or revolutionary committee practically paramount, and by arranging that the scrutiny should be conducted by his adherents and the drawing by lot abolished. Cosmo invariably laid the odium of any unpopular act on the shoulders of his subordinates. His foreign policy brought peace and honour to Florence. His influence as a banker was so great that he was courted by all the rulers of the Italian states, and even by the king of France. In 1447, on the death of the last Visconti, he stepped in to save Lombardy from Venice. In 1460, on the death of Alfonso v. of Naples, he supported the Angevin claim to Naples and induced Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to do the same. Then he founded the triple alliance of Naples, Milan and Florence, which secured the equilibrium of Italy for the next thirty years. He also added enormously to the prestige of Florence by his patronage of the new learning.

Piero, his son, had poor health; he shared the family's literary and artistic capacity, but not its political ability; he is best known as the father of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Lorenzo's character was most carefully supervised at first by Gentilo d'Urbino, afterwards Bishop of Arezzo, and

later by Cristoforo Landino, the professor of poetry and rhetoric at Florence. John Argysopoulos was his instructor in Greek, and under this distinguished teacher he learned ethics and the philosophy of Aristotle. The doctrines of Plato he imbibed from Marsilio Ficino, who had been especially trained in the study of that great master, thanks to Cosmo, who designed him as the first instructor for the new academy he was founding.

Brought thus in contact, from his early youth, with the leaders of the new learning, Lorenzo had much in his favour. He was blessed also with a retentive memory, a quickness of apprehension, and a vigour of intellect with which few are endowed. He had an exquisite taste; no one felt greater delight in poetry, music, and the fine arts. But his vivacity of temper and his levity too often hurried him into extremes, and his own writings were often marred by a licentiousness which is in striking contrast to the seriousness of the rest of his work. His instructors did not neglect the development of his body. As a young man he was noted for his physical prowess. He was a fine swordsman, a good horseman, and fond of hawking and all country pursuits. Unfortunately, his health was never good, and he very early developed gouty tendencies which were responsible for his death when but little past his prime.

Lorenzo was but sixteen years old when his grandfather Cosmo died, and the necessities of the situation at once hurried him into public life. It was clear that a reaction was about to set in. The party of the Medici was on the eve of a great split, and Piero had neither the health nor the ability to control the situation. The anti-Medici party received the name of the Mountain, as the great palace of Lucca Pitti, its leader, was built on the hill of San Giorgio; while the Medici were called the Plain, as their residence stood on the level ground to the north of the Arno.

In 1465, the party of the Mountain demanded the

abolition of the revolutionary *balia* and the restoration of the method of filling offices by lot. Piero very wisely did not oppose these proposals, which became law. But thanks to dissension among the leaders of the Mountain little else was effected in the way of constitutional change. In the following year the party of the Mountain put themselves in the wrong. Seeking for other means to destroy the Medici, they entered into secret negotiations with Venice. The Venetians had never forgotten the part played by the Medici in the establishment of the Sforza dukes, which had hindered the expansion of Venice in Lombardy. But they were too cautious to commit themselves to an alliance with a new faction. With a war with Turkey on their hands they had no desire to add one with Milan and Florence. They accordingly refused to promise more than that, if Piero was quietly assassinated, a body of condottieri in the pay of Venice should be at hand to aid the conspirators.

Piero meanwhile had not been idle. He had secretly taken steps to sound his allies. Lorenzo had been sent to Pisa to meet Frederick, son of Ferrante, King of Naples, who was escorting Ippoleto, daughter of Francesco Sforza, to Naples to marry his brother Alfonso, Duke of Calabria. In the following year Lorenzo visited Paul II., and afterwards proceeded through Bologna and Ferrara to Venice, and thence to Milan. The death of Francesco Sforza and the half-guessed schemes of the Mountain still caused Piero great uneasiness. He accordingly despatched Lorenzo to Naples to interview Ferrante with the view of tightening the strings of the alliance between Florence, Milan and Naples. Scarcely had Lorenzo returned home, after successfully carrying out his mission, when the storm burst. Piero and Lorenzo were at Careggi, their country villa, when news arrived that the condottieri in Venetian pay under Ercole d'Este were advancing on Pistoia. Lorenzo started off

first for Florence, his father following in a litter. On the road Lorenzo found bands of armed men. Fearing a conspiracy he sent back word to warn his father to leave the main road and enter Florence by a circuitous route. Meanwhile, he told all who asked him that his father was following close behind. By this promptitude he probably saved both their lives, for the assassins would no doubt have made short work of him once they had despatched his father.

It seemed as if civil war could not be averted. The partisans of the Mountain garrisoned the Pitti palace with two hundred men, while Piero sent off to Milan for help, and brought in armed peasants from the Medici estates. Fortune, however, showed herself on the side of the Medici. The *priori* and *gonfalonier*, drawn in August, belonged to their party, and Galeazzo Maria Sforza sent a reinforcement of two thousand troops. Accordingly, in September the Medici, after carefully occupying all entrances to the Piazza with their troops, summoned the people to a parliament by ringing the great bell. Having thus secured a packed assembly, they had no difficulty in getting a *balia* appointed of their own friends and arranging that, for the next ten years, the drawing for officers should be by selection and not by lot.

Lucca Pitti made his peace with the Medici; but Neroni, Acciaiuolo and Niccolo Soderini, the other leaders of the Mountain, were banished. Soderini made off to Venice, where he proceeded to scheme against his country. He was so far successful that in the spring of the next year, 1467, a force was despatched against Florence under Bartolommeo Coleone, Ercolo d'Este, and some of the smaller princes of the Romagna. Neapolitan and Milanese troops came to the aid of Florence, and for the next year and a half there were skirmishes and military promenades, the condottieri preferring strategy to battle. Neither side gained any advantage, but all that Florence desired was



to keep out the exiles. At last in 1468 the malcontents saw that they could effect nothing and, thanks to the good offices of Paul II., peace was declared.

June of the year following the peace saw Lorenzo's marriage. Up till now the Medici had been content to seek their brides among their compatriots. But by now, though officially private citizens, their wealth and power had placed them in the princely rank. Lorenzo found his bride in Clarice, a daughter of the great Roman house of the Orsini. It was no love match; if we are to believe his poems Lorenzo's heart desired another. In his *Ricordi* he bluntly says he took this lady to wife, 'or rather, she was given to me.' Be that as it may, he was on the whole faithful to her, and their married life seems to have been happy.

Six months after the marriage Piero died, on December 3rd, 1469. Lorenzo at once stepped into his father's place. He was as yet not twenty-one, and therefore below the legal age for the holding of any of the offices of the republic. This did not really affect the situation, for, as we have already said, neither Cosmo nor Piero made any attempt to secure office for themselves; they were content so to manipulate the elections that the magistracies were held by their friends. Still, as emphasising their loyalty to their new head, the principal citizens held an informal meeting at the instigation of Tommaso Soderini, Niccolo's brother, who had always stood firm by the Medici, and invited Lorenzo to exercise the power wielded by Cosmo and Piero. Lorenzo, with that cunning dissimulation which had served his family so well and so often crowned their ambitions, modestly refused, but ultimately of course allowed himself to be persuaded.

Once in the saddle Lorenzo showed that his ambition was greater than that either of his father or grandfather. Like them he conciliated the populace with splendid



spectacles ; he encouraged literature and art ; and his palace was thrown open to all the men of learning of the day. But while he was hail-fellow-well-met with teachers, artists and poets, he seemed to stand more aloof from the rest of the populace than his predecessors had done. The retinue of followers who always escorted him was more insolent and more numerous. In all but name he played the prince. The first two years of what we may call his reign were marked by a tightening of the reins. The government became more oligarchical, more easily manipulated by his creatures. The legislative functions of the old councils were done away with. A permanent body of his adherents were entrusted with the duty of filling the bags. The result was to narrow down the number of families who could hold office. This, of course, produced a great deal of dissatisfaction.

Lorenzo had not yet learned his lesson. He thought that he could afford to despise his opponents at home, and at the same time strike out for himself a new line of policy abroad. The old alliance between Naples, Milan and Florence had preserved the equilibrium in Italy. But Lorenzo dreamed that if he could manipulate an alliance between Florence, Venice, and the Papacy he might become the arbiter of the destinies of all the Italian states. With this object in view, in 1471, he went in person to congratulate Sixtus IV. on his elevation to the papal throne. At the same time he commenced negotiations which ended in that year in an alliance between Venice, Milan and Florence.

Lorenzo, unfortunately, had neglected to take into consideration the designs of the new pope, who brought nepotism to a fine art ; the timidity of his old ally Ferrante of Naples ; and the uncertainty of life. In 1476, Galeazzo Maria Sforza died ; still, for the moment, however, all seemed well. The pope appointed Lorenzo his receiver of papal revenues, and confirmed his banking privileges at

Rome. But Sixtus' design in conciliating Lorenzo was to obtain large sums of money to spend in purchasing territories for his numerous nephews. Lorenzo, however, refused to assist him in this scheme, and angered him especially by refusing to find the money to purchase Imola for Girolamo Riario, his favourite nephew. Meanwhile, Ferrante in his isolation was seeking support from the pope. The next stage in the proceedings was that as Lorenzo would not find the money, the pope took away his receiver generalship and gave it to the Pazzi, the foes of the Medici. Further, to annoy Lorenzo, he made Francesco Salviati Archbishop of Pisa without consulting him. Thereon the Florentines refused to allow the archbishop to be inducted, and took steps to thwart the pope's provision for his nephews in Romagna.

The Pazzi and Sixtus' nephews determined to end this situation. Francesco Pazzi and Girolamo Riario put their heads together and formed a conspiracy to remove Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano. The pope, the king of Naples, and the heads of the families of the Pazzi and Salviati were all privy to the plot. The pope and the king of Naples were to take no part in the arrangement of the details, but if the conspirators were successful they were to aid with armed force in overawing the Florentines. There was no strong opposition to the Medici in Florence itself, and accordingly Girolamo and his confederates could think of no better way of getting rid of the brothers than by assassination—the favourite political weapon of Italian revolutionaries in all ages. A great number of people were implicated, but so well was the secret kept that no suspicion of the plot leaked out.

Cardinal Rafaello Riario, a grandnephew of the pope, was directed to proceed to Florence to represent the papal authority during the confusion that was bound to follow the murder. Some two thousand condottieri were ordered

to drift by different routes into the city. The actual cut-throats were under the command of Giovanni Battista da Montesecco: their duties were to murder the brothers and to seize the magistrates. The original plan was to carry out the murder at Fiesole; but the plot failed owing to the illness of Giuliano, which kept him in Florence. It was then determined to commit the crime at the moment of the elevation of the Host on the following Sunday in the church of the Reparata, since called Santa Maria del Fiore. The young cardinal was ordered to express a desire to attend divine service at the Reparata on Sunday, April 26th, 1478. Lorenzo at once signified that he and his brother also would attend service to do honour to the cardinal. Francesco Pazzi had been selected to drive the dagger into Giuliano, and Montesecco to deal with Lorenzo. But Montesecco had the conscience of the age; he was quite ready to commit murder, but he shrank from the idea of polluting God's house by such a crime. Two priests, however, were found who had no such scruples. Montesecco's hesitation caused the failure of the plot. At the appointed moment Francesco Pazzi drove the dagger into Giuliano's heart. The priests, not so expert, only wounded Lorenzo, who, aided by his friends, fought his way into the sacristy. Immediately, the news of his danger spread through the town, and soon a band of young nobles had surrounded their leader. Meanwhile, Archbishop Salviati, lacking news, had hesitated to capture the *gonfalonier* and the priors. The people rose to arms with shouts for the Medici, and the *gonfalonier* received the news of the death of Giuliano and the attempted murder of Lorenzo. With the concurrence of the other councillors he administered speedy justice. Francesco Pazzi, the archbishop, and several of the leading conspirators were hanged from the window of the palace. A systematic search was organised, and a like fate befell

all who were captured. Few indeed escaped. Montesecco was captured and, before he died, gave evidence against the pope. Bernardo Bandini, another of the ruffians, fled from Italy to Constantinople. But he could not escape the vengeance of the Medici. The sultan, Mohammed II., handed him over to their agents, and he shared the fate of his fellow conspirators.

The failure of the conspiracy, and especially the death of Giuliano, who was of a much sweeter disposition and infinitely more popular, did much to increase Lorenzo's prestige. This was fortunate, for Florence was now faced by a coalition which all but brought her to her knees, and this misfortune was entirely due to Lorenzo's new foreign policy. The king of Naples was furious at the alliance between Milan, Venice and Florence, which left him in dangerous isolation. Sixtus was equally enraged at the failure of the conspiracy, and at the summary execution of Archbishop Salviati, his papal receiver-general. It needed but little incitement from Girolamo Riario to cause him to demand the banishment of Lorenzo, in atonement for the death of the archbishop and the two priests. On the Florentines refusing, the pope at once declared war; and his ally, the king of Naples, gladly sent him troops. The papal and Neapolitan forces gained a convenient base by the surrender of Siena. But the Florentines, with reinforcements from Venice and Milan, offered a stout resistance to any further advance. The Medici built great hopes on France, but Louis XI. did nothing except to despatch Philip de Commines to try to negotiate. Still the campaign of 1478 closed most successfully for the Florentines. But in the following year their fortunes were brought low. Ferrante, King of Naples, organised a revolution in Milan, which substituted the rule of Ludovico Sforza for Bona of Savoy. This caused the temporary withdrawal of the Milanese reinforcements. Meanwhile,

the Turks were attacking Scutari, some say by the wily Ferrante's suggestion, so Venice also had to recall her troops. Fortune seemed to have deserted the city. Lorenzo went in person to the front, where his presence added fresh courage to the army, but not military skill. Meanwhile, the plague broke out in the city, and the enemy captured Poggio Imperiale, the fortress which covered the city by the way of the Val d'Elsa. It was only the approach of winter, and the traditional lack of initiative in the tactics of the enemy, which saved the city.

Lorenzo saw that the strain had almost reached the breaking point. Already there were ominous murmurs against his policy. Something had to be done to dissolve the coalition. The pope was implacable, but Ferrante had previously been his personal friend. Accordingly, in December 1479, he sent his family for safety to Pistoia, and himself set out for Naples to interview the king. The undertaking appeared hazardous, for Ferrante had a reputation for cruelty and lack of honour, but Lorenzo knew his man. His personality once again captivated the king, who listened to his arguments and recognised their worth. The pope cared for nothing but to improve the fortunes of his nephews. Naples was always in danger of a revival of the Angevin claims. The alliance with Florence and Milan was the surest bulwark against France.

Early in 1480, Lorenzo returned to Florence with a treaty of peace. It was not a glorious one, but his friends covered the defects by magnifying the dangers he had run in visiting Ferrante. The Florentines had to surrender some of the southern districts to Siena, and to acquiesce in the retention by Genoa of Sarzana, their northern fortress, while they left their friends in Romagna to the mercy of the pope. Unfortunately, the allies were in no hurry to evacuate the country, and the irritation was once again gaining head against the Medici, when, luckily, the news



arrived that the Turks had occupied Otranto. At such a crisis even Sixtus IV. was bound to give up his longing for revenge, and the papal and Neapolitan troops hurried south.

Lorenzo seized the occasion of the rejoicings, which followed the withdrawal of the allies, to carry out a constitutional change. Thanks to his regained popularity, and to the fact that the government offices were all in the hands of his friends, these measures were carried out in a constitutional way through the ordinary councils. The chief result was that all power was concentrated in the hands of a senate of seventy, composed of his friends. The senators sat for life. From the senate two committees were drawn, an *Otto di Pratica* for war and an *Otto di Balìa* for police. The old magistracies and councils survived, and were useful for rewarding friends and flattering waverers, but they had little or no power. It was only natural that the senate and its two standing committees should override the officials, who were merely elected for two months.

Secure at home, Lorenzo turned his attention to foreign politics. His great banking connection, his successful administration at home, and the prestige which he gained as the foremost patron of letters, made him the most conspicuous politician of the day. No one knew better how weak Italy really was, how helpless in the face of a foreign enemy. This was ever at the back of his mind, and he now saw the wisdom of his grandfather's policy. Venice he recognised as the aggressor, the state which seemingly had most to gain and least to lose from foreign intervention. Accordingly, for the rest of his life, he did his best to strengthen the old league between Florence, Milan and Naples. He threw himself heart and soul into the war against Venice in 1482, when that city attempted to wrest Ferrara from the house of Este. He was deeply

chagrined when, in 1484, the deposition of Ludovico Sforza saved her from just punishment and brought the war to an end.

In 1485 appeared the danger which he always dreaded. In that year the Neapolitan rebels, backed up by the new pope, Innocent VIII., appealed to France for aid against Ferrante. The appeal was not made to Charles VIII. but to René of Lorraine. This was fortunate, as Lorenzo was thus able to throw his influence on to the side of Ferrante without disturbing his relations with France. He used the turmoil which ensued to regain for Florence Siena and the fortress of Sarzana, and to annex the neighbouring fortresses of Pietrasanta and Sarzanella, thus securing a complete bulwark for his state along the ridge of the Apennines. For the time the danger of foreign intervention was laid, but it soon appeared again. Ludovico Sforza, the real ruler of Milan, was plotting to depose his nephew, who was married to Ferrante's granddaughter. It required all Lorenzo's tact and ability to prevent a complete rupture between Milan and Naples. Unfortunately for Italy, Lorenzo died in 1492, and two years later the Sforzas summoned France to aid them against Naples. It is indeed doubtful, even if Lorenzo had lived, whether he could have averted this catastrophe, but we may presume that he certainly would not have complicated the situation by pusillanimity and incompetence, as his son Piero did.

Nothing, perhaps, is more striking than the multiplicity of interests which went to make up Lorenzo's life. We have briefly reviewed his acts as a statesman. We have now to regard him as a merchant prince and also as a man of letters. The sources of the wealth of the Medici were numerous. In addition to a banking interest which had branches in nearly all the important states of Italy and also in France, Lorenzo was head of what we should now call a

firm, which dealt largely in the spice trade and was deeply engaged in the carrying of all sorts of eastern merchandise from Alexandria to Leghorn. The Medici also made a speciality of mining for alum in Italy; for one alum mine in Roman territory they paid as much as one hundred thousand florins a year to the papal exchequer. Lorenzo further had extensive farms which he had inherited at Poggio-Cajano, Volterra and Caffagiolo. He expended a great deal of care on these estates, and they returned him a very high profit. He had considerable interest in the silk, linen, and woollen manufactories in Florence, whose products were famous over Europe. It was very largely owing to his resources and credit that Florence was able to subsidise the soldiers who fought for her against the pope and the king of Naples, and in the war on behalf of Ferrara. After the wars were over it was entirely owing to his ability that the finances of the state were re-established on a sound footing. But the strain of supervising these vast interests was so great, that in his later years he gradually relinquished his commercial speculations, and concentrated all his efforts on improving the possibilities of his properties; he especially paid attention to mulberry growing, whereby he hoped to decrease the price of silk.

But it is as a man of letters and a patron of learning that his fame is best known. Once he had sown his wild oats, his chief relaxation from the cares of business and of state was the intercourse with the great minds of the day. At his palace at Florence or his villa at Poggio-Cajano he kept open house. Both were perfect museums, containing the most famous manuscripts, sculptures, coins and antiquities of every description. While he thus collected around him the finest objects of art, he was not unmindful of the necessity of providing for the training of artists and men of letters. In 1471 he re-established the academy at Pisa which had fallen into decay, and presented that

institution with a handsome annuity in addition to the annual grant from the state. The Pisan Academy restricted its attention to Latin. In 1479 he re-established the Academy in Florence which his grandfather had founded. He endowed it handsomely and procured Demetrius Chalcondylas as professor. Englishmen owe him no small debt of gratitude, for it was at Florence that William Grocin and Thomas Linacre learned their Greek which they taught with such success at Oxford and elsewhere.

Thanks to Lorenzo's munificence the churches and public buildings of Florence became possessed of pictures by Antonio Pollajuolo, Fra Lippo Lippi, Sandro Botticelli and Luca Signorelli, the famous group of artists who, by the study of perspective, anatomy and shading, and by the introduction of oil colours were creating a revolution in the painter's art. Nor must we forget that it was by his generosity that Michael Angelo, perhaps the most famous of painters and sculptors, received the assistance necessary to complete his artistic training. For Lorenzo, with the desire to improve the struggling artists of the day and to provide them with the means of studying the most perfect works of art in existence, turned his gardens, which lay beside the monastery of San Marco, into an art school. He furnished the buildings, gardens and avenues with statues, busts, and other pieces of ancient workmanship, and appointed as superintendent the sculptor Bertoldo, the favourite pupil of Donatello. If the school had produced no other artist than Michael Angelo it would have more than justified its existence, for, as a French artist of the day exclaimed, 'I have seen Michael Angelo; he is terrific.'

Building was one of Lorenzo's delights, and Florence owes to him many of her noblest structures. The Duke of Milan and the King of Naples sent to ask his assistance for the erection of their palaces. Among the public works

which he provided at Florence were the monastery of San Gallo, the fortifications of Poggio Imperiale, the completion of the church of San Lorenzo, and the monastery at Fiesole commenced by Brunelleschi.

His private friends formed a brilliant band. Marsilio Ficino was the great exponent of the doctrines of Plato. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola spent his short life of thirty-one years in the attempt to harmonise the philosophy of the ancients with the religion of Christ. Leo Battista Alberti was a master of both Italian and Latin literature, and at the same time an enthusiastic musician and painter. Michael Angelo we have already mentioned. He first aroused the attention of Lorenzo by his poetic gifts. Politian was tutor of Lorenzo's children, and professor of Greek and Latin at Florence; he was known from his precocity as *Homericus juvenis*, and celebrated no less for his critical ability than for his comprehensive genius and rhetorical ability; his personality did more for the age than his published Latin letters, for by his influence he inspired others to emulate himself. Cristoforo Landino was a master of Ciceronian Latin; he is remembered for his *Disputationes Camaldunenses*.

In the introduction to this work Landino has given us a glimpse of Lorenzo with his literary friends. The scene is laid at the monastery of Camaldoli. There were present Mariotto, the abbot of the monastery, Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano, Leo Battista Alberti, Marsilio Ficino, Landino and others. He relates how, after performing their devotions, the whole party proceeded every morning for three or four days to spend the day in the open air on the hills under a magnificent beech-tree near a spring. How the conversation turned on the comparative merits of the active life of a citizen and the contemplative life of a philosopher or monk. How Alberti argued in favour of the contemplative life, because contemplation alone can



constitute the essence of human happiness, also because without contemplation the statesman can effect nothing, 'For it is impossible that any person should rightly direct the affairs of the republic, unless he has previously established in himself virtuous habits, and enlightened his understanding with that knowledge which will enable him to discern why he is called into existence, what is due to others, and what to himself.' Lorenzo would not agree that perfection of nature could only be obtained by abstraction from worldly pursuits; he argued that there should be no essential difference between the active and the contemplative life, but that they should mutually assist each other. The three remaining days of this holiday were spent in discussing Virgil, and the friends agreed that Virgil's poetry is allegorical, and that in it are to be discovered the truths of the Platonic doctrine.

But Lorenzo was not merely a patron of art and letters, he himself had all the versatility of his friends. He spent much time in the criticism of Dante, and at an early period produced many sonnets to his mistress, after the manner of Petrarch. He had the gift of interpreting the human passion by means of personification, a deft touch for the introduction of poetic comparison, and a genius for description. Nor did he confine his attention to sonnets: lyrics and satires flowed from his pen, poems on hawking, on morals, on things sacred; he even aspired to tragedy. Crescimbeni, the historian of Tuscan poetry, says of him, 'Amidst the thickest gloom of that barbarism which had spread itself throughout Italy, he exhibited, whilst yet but a youth, a simplicity of style, a purity of language, a happiness of versification, a propensity of poetical ornament, and a fullness of sentiment, which recalled once more the graces and sweetness of Petrarca.'

Lorenzo, as we have said before, was the typical product of the Renaissance. Nothing perhaps better illustrates

this than his attitude towards the Church and religion. The Church he regarded mainly as an organ of government, as part of the political system of Italy. It was for this reason that he saw nothing incongruous in using his influence with the pope to get his second son Giovanni created a cardinal at the age of thirteen. It seemed to him in no way a scandal, for he wrote, 'I have educated him for the priesthood, and shall closely attend to his learning and his manners, so that he may not disgrace his profession.' We still possess the detailed instructions which he prepared for the young cardinal on his departure to Rome to take up his office. He pointed out to him that he could only repay God for his early elevation by 'a pious, chaste, and exemplary life.' He warned him against the vices of many of his fellow cardinals. He commanded him to be discreet and humble, and gave him directions as to his clothing and establishment, as to his method of business, and insisted on the necessity of taking exercise. In the middle of this advice came the following sentence pregnant of the whole matter. 'You are now devoted to God and the Church, on which account you ought to aim at being a good ecclesiastic; and to show that you prefer the honour and state of the Church, and of the apostolic see, to every other consideration. Nor, while you keep this in view, will it be difficult for you to favour your family and native place. On the contrary, you should be the link to bind this city close to the Church and our family with the city; and although it may be impossible to foresee what accidents may happen, yet I doubt not that this may be done with equal advantage to all: observing, however, that you are always to prefer the interests of the Church.'

We cannot wonder, therefore, that Savonarola, with his hatred of art, his overpowering sense of sin, and his conviction of the wickedness of the world, regarded Lorenzo as the type of all the evil of the day. And yet it was Lorenzo

himself who called Savonarola to Florence to the abbotship of the monastery of San Marco, the peculiar institution of the Medici. Savonarola himself attended Lorenzo on his death-bed, and exhorted him to remain firm in the Catholic faith. He reminded him that he should bear his death with fortitude. 'With cheerfulness,' replied Lorenzo, 'if it be God's will.' Thereon, after giving him the benediction, he departed, and soon after Lorenzo passed away surrounded by his friends.

The life of Lorenzo is a most fascinating study from its many-sidedness. The student of history can speculate as to his influence on the politics of his day, and on how far his death led to the overthrow of the system he represented. The statesman finds himself confronted with constitutional questions of the greatest interest, notably the influence of personality in politics. The student of ethics is introduced to one of the great crises in the evolution of morals. The artist traces in his career the growth of the science of architecture, sculpture, mosaics and painting. The man of letters is fascinated with his poetic genius, his encouragement of learning, and his famous library. The theologian sees in his influence one of the factors which contributed to the Reformation; while the man of business can find much food for reflection in the examination of his economic, agricultural, commercial, and banking pursuits. In a word, there are few departments of life in which, for better or for worse, the influence of Lorenzo the Magnificent did not make itself felt.

## CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

NOTHING has contributed more to the development of modern civilisation than the discovery of the New World at the close of the fifteenth century, and no task is more fascinating than tracing the causes which led to this discovery. The search leads us to the beginnings of civilisation itself. We have to study the history of the Erythraeans who ploughed the Red Sea long before the Phoenicians and Greeks ventured to cross the Mediterranean. The success of the Greeks and Phoenicians prepared the way for the Carthaginians. By the time Carthage fell before the power of Rome, all the coasts of southern Europe, Asia, North Africa, and perhaps even the east coast of Africa as far as the Cape of Good Hope, had been discovered, and their approximate outlines had been fixed. On the Atlantic sea-board the islands from Thule (which some people think was Iceland) to the Azores had been visited. We read how Hanno and Hamilcar, the Carthaginians, penetrated west as far as the great sea of floating weed in the mid-Atlantic, which we call the Saragossa Sea. But with the fall of Carthage the spirit of naval adventure died. Rome was essentially a land power, and sought her entrance to the markets of the East by way of the Red Sea and the valley of the Euphrates. Thus it was that the knowledge gained by the Carthaginians began to fade away, only to reappear in the speculations of philosophers like Seneca, or to be revived in fabulous form in the tales of Diodorus the Sicilian.

Originally the Greeks had taught that the earth was

a plane, but gradually their views changed, and in the fourth century B.C. we find Aristotle and others demonstrating the rotundity of the earth by watching the shadow of the moon during an eclipse, and by noting the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies in different latitudes. In the third century B.C. Eratosthenes measured a degree of latitude, and in the next century Hipparchus established geographical positions. A century later still, that is in the second century B.C., Ptolemy drew up his cosmography, which became the acknowledged authority for many generations.

The centuries succeeding the fall of the Roman Empire, as we have seen, were years of darkness and strife. It was not till the twelfth century that order and progress began to reappear in Europe. Then came the crusades, which naturally turned all those of an adventurous disposition towards the East, first in the pursuit of the religious ideal and then for gain. The trade routes with the East were three in number: the first from Central Asia to the Black Sea, thence by Constantinople to the Mediterranean; the second by the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Euphrates to Aleppo and the Levant; and the third by the Red Sea to Cairo and Alexandria. The starting-point of the last two routes was Calicut in India, which was the depot of the trade between East and West. Thither came Chinese merchants, Malucca traders with the spoils of the spice islands, and the natives of India and Ceylon. At the European depots at Constantinople, Aleppo and Alexandria, the transport and distribution were in the hands of the Venetians and Genoese.

While Europeans were thus confining their attention to the eastern trade, the Moors of Spain and northern Africa were carrying on a large caravan traffic with the negro tribes of the Soudan across the Sahara. By 1150 they knew that there lay a fertile and populous country south-



west of the Sahara in the valley of the Senegal River, which we find marked as 'Bilad Ghana,' or 'the Land of Wealth,' in the map prepared by the Arab Edrisi for Roger II. of Sicily. To exploit 'Bilad Ghana' became the object of the Portuguese, who were by geographical reasons excluded from the eastern commerce and from the continental trade in North Africa.

The first object of the Portuguese was to secure slaves to cultivate the large tracts of Portugal and Spain devastated by the Moorish wars: with this object in view, in 1415 they seized Ceuta from the Moors, which gave them a position on the Atlantic, whence they voyaged to the Canary Islands, and captured the Guanche natives. The moving spirit in the adventure was Dom Henrique of Portugal, known to us as Henry the Navigator. He was the third son of John I. by Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV. of England. Dom Henrique's aim was twofold—to found a greater Portugal by colonising the Azores and the islands of the Madeira group lately rediscovered by the Genoese, and secondly to conquer 'Bilad Ghana,' and turn it into a dependency of Portugal administered by the military order of Jesus Christ. To the reader of the present day Dom Henrique presents the curious combination of slave dealer and crusader; that this did not seem illogical to his contemporaries we see from their chroniclers, who recount how the profit of one expedition was two hundred and sixteen slaves, of whom a fifth was assigned to Dom Henrique, 'of which he had great joy because of their salvation, who otherwise would have been destined to perdition.' Henry himself never went further than Ceuta, but from his observatory at Sagres on Cape St. Vincent he eagerly superintended the departure and arrival of his fleets of adventurers, and devoted himself to the collection of maps and the study of geography. After nineteen years' steady effort the Portuguese adven-

turers at last reached the Senegal. Thereafter their advance was still slow, and by the time of Dom Henrique's death, in 1460, they had probably only reached the tenth parallel of northern latitude. Such was Dom Henrique's contribution to the age of discovery. We find no word about the circumnavigation of Africa or the idea of penetrating to India. His aim seems to have been to effect a junction with the Abyssinians, or people of Prester John, by pushing up the Senegal, which he considered was the Western Nile, and had its source in a lake near the source of the Egyptian Nile. This done he hoped to be able to recover North Africa for Christianity.

But before Dom Henrique's death an event had occurred, which gave an entirely new impetus to the Portuguese adventurers. On May 29th, 1453, Constantinople was conquered by the Turks. For a time Venice managed to come to an arrangement with the conquerors, whereby she still retained the distribution of the eastern trade. But as years went on the duties imposed by the Turks became heavier and heavier, and the trade more costly and dangerous. Thus it was that the adventurous captains of the Mediterranean began to consider the possibility of finding other routes to the East. Meanwhile, the discoveries of the Portuguese were causing wonder among the learned of the day. 'New lands, new races, new worlds, even new constellations had been dragged from darkness into the light of day.' The maps of Ptolemy were eagerly scanned, and men began to speculate as to the possibility of reaching the East by sailing West.

Christopher Columbus was born at Genoa somewhere between 1445-1447. His father was Domenico Columbus of Terra-Rossa, a weaver by trade, and his mother Susanna was the daughter of another silk-weaver from a neighbouring village. At the time of his eldest son's birth, Domenico was in fairly prosperous circumstances, and owned the

house, shop and garden which he occupied. Of Columbus' youth we know little. From the letters and manuscripts he has left, we can see that he was a fair penman ; he could make a spirited sketch with a few strokes of the pencil, and had a considerable talent for drawing maps. For some short time, probably about 1460, he was at the University of Pavia, where he learned cosmography, astrology and geometry.

Evidently the weaver's loom proved unattractive to the adventurous spirit who was destined to find the New World, for at the age of fourteen we hear of him at sea. The red-haired, ruddy-complexioned youth had soon an intimate knowledge of the Mediterranean from the Pillars of Hercules to Aleppo. He eagerly listened to the tales of discovery of merchants from India, and of sailors who had traversed the unknown Atlantic. He probably passed the Golden Horn and visited the Black Sea depots, where the Genoese collected their Crimean trade, and Poti, the great centre port for the Indian goods brought down by the merchants of Georgia. Cabin boy, mariner and corsair, save for occasional visits to Genoa, he passed the next fourteen years of his life, between the years 1460 and 1473, mainly in navigating the Mediterranean. He seems to have taken service with Niccolo Columbus, a famous corsair, who, though bearing the same name, was no relation. Of this period we get a glimpse in a letter written by Christopher himself, in 1495, from Hispaniola. ' It happened to me that King René, whom God has taken to himself, sent me to Tunis to take the galleon *Ferdinandina*, and when I got near the island of San Pietro off Sardinia, I heard that she had two ships and a long caracca in her company. This discomposed my men and they resolved to go no further, but to return to Marseilles for another ship and more men. I saw there was no going against their will without some contrivance, and seemed to give

way ; but then I turned the needle of the compass right round, and set sail when it was getting late ; and the next day at sunrise we fought off Cape Certegna (in Africa), though all the men had thought for certain that we were making homeward to Marseilles.'

The career of a captain under Niccolo was not likely to be confined to the Mediterranean. We hear of Christopher serving with the famous corsair in the Atlantic. Niccolo was nominally working for King Louis of France, preying on the trade between England and Venice. Christopher must have fought up and down the English Channel, for we find from one of his letters from the New World that he had seen the harbours of England, 'though he never saw any harbours as good as those which he found in the West Indies.' In the year 1470 our hero was engaged in this semi-piratical warfare. With Niccolo he lay behind the promontory of Cape St. Vincent, the favourite lurking-place of the 'French pirates.' This time they were awaiting the Venetian fleet from Flanders. The fight that followed was fierce, lasting from matins to vespers. Christopher's ship engaged and grappled a Venetian. Both ships took fire, and there was nothing for it but to jump into the sea with the hope of being picked up. Our hero, 'being an excellent swimmer and seeing himself about two leagues from land, laid hold of an oar which fortune offered him, and sometimes resting and sometimes swimming, it pleased God, who was preserving him for greater ends, to give him strength to get to land.' This is the story in the words of his son Ferdinand, who doubtless often heard it from his father's lips : he concludes by adding, 'It was not far from Lisbon, where he knew that there were many Genoese, and he went there as fast as he could : and being recognised by many friends, he was so courteously received and entertained, that he set up house and married a wife in that city.'

Christopher was now about twenty-four years old: tall, large of limb, with a long face and aquiline nose, and cheeks 'neither large nor lean'; like many another Italian of the north he must have possessed some strain of Teutonic blood, probably derived from a far-off Lombard ancestor, for his fresh complexion, bluish-grey eyes and red beard, which became grey before he was thirty, stamped him as belonging to a different race from the ordinary inhabitant of the Peninsula. A man with so fine a presence, with the reputation of being one of Niccolo Columbus' most dashing captains, with no doubt a good store of plunder well invested in Genoa, was likely to prove attractive to the female eye. The lady who became the wife of his choice was a certain Philippa Moniz, the daughter of Perestrello, one of Dom Henrique's explorers. Perestrello, like Christopher, was a Lombard—descended from a noble family of Piacenza—whose father had migrated to Portugal, drawn thither by the love of maritime adventure. Philippa's father had died in 1457 as hereditary governor of Porto Santo, and had been succeeded as governor by his son-in-law Pedro Correo, husband of Philippa's sister, 'Queen Iseult,' at Porto Santo. Philippa herself had an estate on that island, which is the most northern of the Madeira group. Hence by his marriage Christopher was at once introduced to all the Portuguese adventurers.

Although Columbus became domiciled in Portugal in 1470, we know that he was occasionally in Italy up to 1473, after which year his name is no longer found among the notarial records at Savona. Perhaps it was in this year that he married Donna Philippa and made Portugal his adopted country. For the next fourteen years we have no direct record of his life. He seems to have adopted the profession of map and chart drawer, but to have varied it at least with one voyage to the far north, and a residence of some considerable time at Porto Santo,



during which he made voyages to the Guinea coast. The evidence for the Icelandic voyage is based on an Italian copy of the history written by his son Ferdinand. 'I was sailing in February 1477, a hundred leagues beyond the island of Thule, whereof the southern part is distant from the equator seventy-three degrees and not sixty-three as some would have it: and it does not lie within Ptolemy's westernmost meridian, but is much further out to the westward: and to this island, which is as large as England, the English go with their merchandise, especially the men of Bristol. And at the time I went the sea was not frozen, but it rose in some places twenty-six ells high, and then fell again as much.' This raises at once the question of whether Columbus, when in Iceland, heard of the *Heimskringla*, or the adventures of Eric the Red, and the discovery of Greenland and Vinland, and discoursed with Bishop Magnus who possessed at that moment the *Codex Flateyensis*, containing the written record of these Norse discoveries. But whether or no he ever went to Iceland, he must have known of these voyages, for the cartographers of the fifteenth century included Greenland in their charts, though they always showed it as a northern peninsula of Europe.

The years spent at Porto Santo must have been the period during which Columbus meditated on his great adventure. Either there or in Portugal he made the acquaintance of Martin Behaim, the famous Nuremberger, who had married the daughter of the governor of Fayal, a small island of the Azores group. Behaim it was who had perfected the astrolabe, and invented a rough form of sextant which greatly assisted the mariners of the day in working out their reckonings. During this time Columbus probably met with a manuscript of the *Imago Mundi* (1410) by Pierre d'Ailly, for all his subsequent quotations from the ancients are borrowed from it. The *Imago*

*Mundi* was based on the *Opus Majus* (1267) of the English philosopher Roger Bacon. Thus it was that Columbus learned how, in the middle of the third century before Christ, Eratosthenes had by astronomical methods measured the extent of the earth's circumference,—how, a century later, Posidonius of Rhodes had reduced these measurements by a fifth (in which he was wrong, Eratosthenes' measurements being really not far out).

Columbus not only read but he criticised. He knew that the philosophers, arguing that as you went north it got colder and as you went south it got hotter, had come to the conclusion that in the north the cold made life impossible and in the south the heat. From his own knowledge he was aware that this was a fallacy, for he told his son, 'I have been in the King of Portugal's fortress of St. George of the Gold Mine, and that lies right under the equator, so that it is not so uninhabitable as some would make out.'

As we have said before, the success of the Portuguese in pushing down the coast of Africa gave a great impetus to the desire for discovery and to the scientific treatment of geography. The most famous savant of the day was an Italian, Toscanelli. In his opinion the circumference of the globe was only eighteen thousand miles, that is, six thousand short of what it really is. Columbus knew of Toscanelli's view. He also, like all his contemporaries, believed in the genuineness of the visions of Esdras. 'Unto Leviathan Thou gavest the seventh part, namely, the ocean.' Further, Columbus accepted the estimate of Maximus of Tyre, that, from the eastern verge of Asia to the western verge of Europe, was a distance of fifteen hours, on the calculation of the division of the earth into twenty-four hours. The discovery of the Azores had pushed the limit of the known an hour further west. That is to say, by his calculation sixteen hours, or two-thirds

of the three hundred and sixty degrees of the earth's circumference, were now accounted for. This calculation placed the Asiatic coast on the meridian of California, and reduced the globe by the breadth of the Pacific. As Columbus said, 'We can thus determine that India is even neighbouring to Spain and Africa.'

While Columbus pondered over these calculations he became more and more convinced of the feasibility of reaching Asia by sailing due west from the Azores. His conjecture was confirmed by the wreckage which was occasionally washed up on those islands, branches of trees and seeds unknown to Europeans, and at least on one occasion a piece of curiously carved wood. When he was at Flores, Columbus was told of two drowned men, probably Caribs, who had been picked up, with very broad faces, 'differing in aspect from Christians.' This evidence tended in his opinion to prove that there were inhabited lands west of Europe, probably islands off the coast of Asia, for all the cartographers of the day showed the imaginary coast of Asia as thickly dotted with islands, the most important of which was Cipango or Japan. Still, it was a mighty venture to sail out westward, whither many had gone before never to return; where, travellers said, lay the Sea of Darkness, the resort of the gorgons, of the men who wore their heads below their shoulders, and of other monsters. Moreover, there was this additional problem. If the earth was round and the sea sloped down westwards, how would it be possible to sail home again uphill?

In spite of all these problematical difficulties, Columbus determined to put the adventure to the test. He entered into correspondence with Toscanelli, who sent him a map of the world, and in answer to his letter of thanks wrote, 'I am glad the chart is well understood, and that the voyage laid down is not only possible but true, certain,

honourable, very advantageous, and most glorious among all Christians. . . . When the voyage is performed it will be to powerful kingdoms and to most noble cities and provinces, rich in all things of which we stand in need, particularly of spice and in a store of jewels . . . for which reasons, and many more that might be alleged, I do not at all wonder that you, who have a great heart, and the Portuguese nation which has always had notable men engaged on its undertakings, are eagerly bent upon bringing this voyage to pass.'

But the glory of the discovery of the New World was not destined to fall to Portugal. In 1484 Columbus was back there, pressing his schemes for a voyage westward on the unwilling ears of King John. It was part of the policy of the Portuguese government to keep the new discoveries in their own hands, by discouraging adventurers. A merchant captain and three sailors, who seemed likely to disclose some of the secrets of the African coast to the Spaniards, were pursued into Spain and done to death. But Columbus was insistent on the possibility of the discovery of Asia by a western voyage. The Portuguese council determined to test the truth of his supposition by ordering three caravels to sail out westward from the Cape Verde islands on the route Columbus had laid down. These ships after sailing westwards a few days returned and reported that they had found nothing. Meanwhile, the government was afraid that Columbus might sell his views to some other nation. He was accordingly kept under surveillance, but, about the end of 1484, he managed to escape into Spain, taking with him his son Diego, whose mother was by now dead.

The next four years were spent in trying to enlist the sympathies of the Spanish court in aid of his expedition. Columbus, not finding his task an easy one, sent his brother Bartholomew to try and win the patronage of Henry VII. of England. In Spain Christopher found

support from the great Duke of Medina Sidonia. The Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, while not unappreciative of the glory and possible power to be gained by the success of such an expedition, were too much engaged in their final effort against the Moors to consider the matter seriously. But, with a view no doubt to prevent Columbus from going to some other power, on January 20th, 1486, they took him into their service and gave him a small pension. After some considerable trouble Columbus gained the ear of the great Cardinal Mendoza, but still the years passed without the final achievement. Meanwhile, he formed an attachment with Donna Beatrix, a lady of the court, and by her had a son, Ferdinand, the author of his history, who was born in 1488. In 1489 we find him serving against the Moors at the capture of Baza. About this time the monarchs ordered a conference of savants to meet at Salamanca to report on the possibility of the proposed expedition.

We must remember that, in May 1487, Bartholomew Diaz had rounded the Cape of Good Hope and opened the way to the Indian Ocean. Still in 1491 the Commission reported adversely. Columbus made one more personal effort, but it was in vain: the monarchs determined that the expedition was too heavy for their sorely tried finances. Thereon Columbus departed from the camp at Santa Fé firmly determined to leave Spain for ever. But as he was riding away on his mule his friend, the prior of La Ribida, pleaded his cause with the queen, who all along had been sympathetic. The prior was successful, as the Moors were now completely vanquished. So a messenger was hurriedly sent after Columbus.

The court granted Columbus practically all that he asked, and his terms were by no means moderate, for he had what men call a good conceit of himself. He was to have such allowances and high offices as seemed almost



too great for a subject. In addition the court was to pay seven-eighths of the undertaking, and Columbus was to pay the remaining eighth, in return for which he was to have an eighth share of all profits. He in turn vowed that he would use the proceeds of the adventure for the reconquest of the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels. But still the question remained to be settled how the sovereigns were to raise the necessary money. The town of Palos in the Gulf of Seville had been mulcted in the service of two armed caravels for twelve months, and the opportunity was used of placing these vessels at Columbus' disposal. A third vessel was supplied by a merchant family of the town, the Pinzons. All maritime towns were commanded to sell supplies for the expedition at reasonable prices, and all criminal prosecutions, against those who volunteered, were ordered to be suspended.

Half an hour after sunrise on Friday, August 3rd, 1492, the little fleet weighed anchor and started on its memorable voyage. It was composed of three ships. The flagship of the admiral, as Columbus was styled, was a large decked vessel registered as a carrack, named the *Santa Maria*, 'a dull sailer and unfit for discovery'; she was about sixty-three feet over all in length, fifty-one feet along the keel, twenty feet beam, and ten and a half feet deep from keel to deck. The other two ships commanded by the Pinzons were open caravels, the *Nina* and the *Pinta*, decked at the bow and stern with high poops as quarters for the crew. The estimates of the personnel vary from ninety, in the 'history,' to one hundred and twenty.

Our knowledge of the voyage is drawn mainly from the diary kept by Columbus himself. The admiral made first for the Canary Islands, and on leaving Gomera, on September 6th, the ocean voyage really commenced. On the 13th, a hundred leagues west of the Azores, Columbus

noted from the compass that they had reached a 'magnetic line of no deviation.' Soon they struck the great 'Fucus Bank' of weed known as the Saragossa Sea. They were now in what we call the trade winds. Columbus observed 'that at this point the sea was very smooth, and that though the wind was rough the ships did not roll.' Though the trade winds were useful he was delighted when one day the wind shifted, 'because the men had been in great excitement at the idea that there were no winds here that would take a ship back to Spain.' After they had been out about ten days the admiral was constantly on the look-out for the islands which, according to Toscanelli, lay between Europe and the west of Asia. They had numerous false alarms, and again and again, from the flight of birds or the observation of fish, decided that these islands were near at hand. Meanwhile, Columbus, knowing his men, each day gave out a false report of the run, 'that the men might not feel quite dejected at being so far from home.' On October 10th, just when the crews were getting so dispirited that matters were becoming serious, the men of the *Nina* saw floating past a dog-rose brier covered with bloom and a curiously carved stick. At once they were all eagerness for the reward promised to the man who first saw land. On the night of October 11th Columbus himself thought he saw a light moving about in the darkness like a torch, but when he called others they could not make anything out. About two on the next morning the *Pinta* fired a gun; one of her crew had sighted land. The fleet at once lay to. 'Being now arrived the ships lay by, and it seemed a long time before the morning came.'

It was on the morning of Friday, October 12th, 1492, thirty-three days after leaving the Canaries, that the small island, 'called in the Indian tongue Guanahani,' was discovered. (It has since been identified as Watling Island, one of the Archipelago of the Bahamas.) With all due

state the admiral landed, the Royal Standard was unfurled ; mass said, and the notary entered the record of the formal annexation of the island, which was named ' San Salvador.'

Columbus very soon determined that the natives (Caribs) of Guanahani were uncivilised and had but little wealth. Their skins were of the same olive colour as the natives of the Canaries. They smeared their faces with a blood-red stain, and chequered them with patches of white chalk. They were tall and well-shaped, with good features, except that their foreheads were squeezed too high, ' which made them look rather wild.' Their hair was thick and black and usually cropped short, their hands were small, and they had grey eyes with specks of blue about the iris. After the first moments of strangeness they proved friendly and inquisitive. But, delighted as Columbus was with the rich growth and lovely scenery of this island and those which lay close to it, now that he had proved the correctness of his calculations the lust for gold conquered the desire for fame, or the crusading ideal of winning souls to God. On October 21st he noted in his diary, ' I am proceeding solely in quest of gold and spices.' At each island at which he called he understood the natives to tell him that there was a large island lying west called Colba, where gold was plentiful. Columbus determined that this must be Cipango or Japan : as a matter of fact it was Cuba.

On arriving off Cuba and coasting along it about half its length, he found that the natives had little of the precious commodity. The country was fertile : there were great stores of fine cotton, and the inhabitants ate tubers, which we now call potatoes, and smoked small tubes of dried leaves called tobacco. They pointed south and south-east, and told him that it was at Bohio (Haiti) and Babeque (Jamaica), that the gold mines lay. After failing to reach Jamaica, early in December he reached Bohio (Haiti), which, owing to the songs of the birds, ' like those of

Castile,' he named Hispaniola. Here his quest was more successful. The natives all had small gold ornaments which they were glad to barter for hawks' bells and red cloth. They seemed of a higher type than those of the other islands. 'So loving and tractable and free from covetousness they are, that I swear to your Highnesses there are no better people, nor any better country, in the world.'

On Christmas Eve a disaster befell the admiral: his ship went aground and became a complete wreck. Meanwhile, the elder Pinzon had deserted with the *Pinta*. There was nothing for it but to tranship all hands to the *Nina*. As the Cacique of the district, Guacanagari, was friendly, and gladly supplied the expedition with native food and with gold, Columbus determined to build a fort and leave a garrison of forty-two men well-equipped with arms and stores. He hoped that by the time he returned with fresh supplies from Europe they would have collected 'a barrel of gold.'

Columbus started for Europe on January 4th, 1493. He had hardly weighed anchor when he was joined by Pinzon, who had been to Jamaica and found there gold nuggets the size of beans. A violent storm struck them when they were still some two hundred leagues west of the Azores, and the *Pinta* again got separated. At the Azores Columbus found the Portuguese had orders to arrest him, and it was after considerable difficulty that he managed to escape, only to be driven by bad weather, on March 3rd, into the estuary of the Tagus. King John was bitterly disappointed when he heard of Columbus' arrival at Lisbon: he would have liked to have had him arrested, but the whole city was in an uproar, staring at the Indians and talking about the gold; so there was nothing to do but to put a good face on it, and pay the admiral all the compliments due to his rank and his performance. After

spending ten days at Lisbon, fêted by everybody, Columbus sailed for Palos, which port he reached at midday, on March 15th. Strange to say, that very evening Pinzon and the *Pinta* arrived there also.

It is almost impossible to imagine the excitement among the savants of Europe caused by the return of Columbus. One of them wrote that he could scarcely refrain 'from tears of joy at so unlooked for an event'; to this Peter Martyr replied, 'What more delicious food for an ingenious mind.' For the moment even the greedy soul of the Genoese adventurer was satisfied. His progress through Andalusia was one long triumph among enthusiastic crowds, gaping at the Indians with their gold ornaments and feathered wrappings, and at the peculiar pets and gay-plumaged birds carried by the sailors. At Barcelona, in April, the admiral reached the court. Ferdinand and Isabella sat on their throne under a golden canopy, 'and when he went to kiss their hands, they stood up as to some great lord, and made a difficulty to give him their hands.' His son adds: 'When the king rode about Barcelona, the admiral was on one side and the Infante on the other: but before that time none had ever ridden beside his Majesty except the Infante.'

The admiral stayed a bare five months in Spain. It would never do to let other nations encroach on his preserves. The Portuguese might at any moment attempt to despoil Spain of what he had won for her, in spite of the fact that by a bull of Martin v., in 1431, the Spaniards had been permitted to sail west and the Portuguese south. Diplomacy was called into use, and the pope on May 4th issued another bull entitling Spain to possess, 'on condition of planting the Catholic faith, all lands not already occupied by Christian powers west of a meridian drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores.' There was no difficulty this time in obtaining volunteers, and, on



September 25th, the admiral again weighed anchor from Cadiz, with a fleet of seventeen sail, conveying some fifteen hundred persons, including artisans and husbandmen, and all things necessary for building and planting. The course steered on this voyage was further south, and the first land made was the rocky island of Dominica. From there they stood north to Hispaniola, but when they reached the site of the town of La Navidad they found no sign of the garrison. They learned later that, once Columbus had left, discipline had relaxed; the men had scattered in parties seeking gold, and had ultimately been attacked and killed by the warriors of Caonalo, the king of the inland district in which the gold mountains of Cibao lay.

There was nothing for it but to commence the settlement afresh. A site near Monte Christi was selected for the new city, Isabella, on a stream which runs into a fine haven, in the midst of the most beautifully wooded country. But the site was badly chosen, the Spaniards having as yet but little knowledge of the malarial fever, the scourge of the islands. Fever-stricken, and discontented at not finding gold by the handful, the colonists proved difficult to manage. The only really capable subordinate that Columbus had was Ojeda, whom he despatched to build a fort near the auriferous streams of Cibao.

After doing his best to start the colony, leaving his son Diego as president of the council, Columbus set out to explore the coast of Cuba, 'not knowing, indeed, whether it was an island or a continent.' First he visited Jamaica, 'but it soon appeared that the story of the gold was a delusion.' Then he headed for Cuba and sailed along its southern coast. After a long painful coasting voyage, he found his ship leaking, his provisions going bad, and the men beginning to mutiny. He determined to return, but before doing so he made his captains swear

before a notary that it was possible to go by land from Cuba across Asia to Spain; his desire being to prove to the world that he was the discoverer of the coast of Asia. It was a most trying expedition. As he wrote, the men had nothing to eat but 'a pound of rotten biscuits in the day, with half a pint of wine, unless they happened to catch some fish, and I myself am on the same allowance. God grant it may be to His honour and for your Highnesses' service, for I shall never again for my own benefit expose myself to such sufferings and dangers.'

The return voyage to Hispaniola was most adverse. The admiral's health broke down, and for the last five days he lay crippled and unconscious. He awoke to find himself on land. But the news Diego had to tell him was most depressing. Mutinies had been frequent; the Spaniards had begun to oppress the inhabitants, who in turn had risen against them; the fort in the Cibao district had only been relieved, thanks to the dashing Ojeda. Meanwhile, a strong element of opposition to Columbus himself had developed, and emissaries had been sent to Spain to complain of the harshness of his government. In the following March the crisis arrived. The natives goaded by ill-usage rose in arms, but, thanks to the gallant service of Ojeda, and the fine manœuvring of a force of two hundred men-at-arms and twenty horsemen under the admiral, all armed opposition speedily collapsed. Meanwhile, in Spain the detractors were gaining ground. Licences were granted to adventurers, and Juan Aguado was sent out as commissioner to inquire into the alleged abuses. The admiral accordingly determined to return to Spain and plead his cause at court. But, before leaving the island, he had commenced the fatal policy of making slaves of the rebels, and sanctioning their export to Spain. He hoped thereby to make up the deficit which was caused by the gold mines proving so much less rich than he had prophesied.

After a perilous voyage owing to contrary winds and shortness of food, he arrived in Spain in the summer of 1496. At first the king and queen received him well, and he made the most of his specimens of amber, coral, shells, and woods of all description. But the queen gave him clearly to understand how much she abhorred the slave traffic, and his credit fell when, in the following summer, a ship arrived with no gold, but a cargo of slaves. Meanwhile, the king was engaged with the war against Naples, and it was not till May 1498 that Columbus was able to equip a fleet of six vessels. So greatly had opinion altered that it was only by taking the sweepings of the prisons that he was able to man this small squadron.

On this, his third voyage, he took a course even yet more southerly, and the first land that he reached was the island of Trinidad off the mouth of the Orinoco. Trying to pass to the south of this island he found himself in the Gulf of Paria, and there for the first time, without knowing it, he landed on the new continent. He noted that the natives nearly all wore ornaments of gold and coloured stones, and some had strings of pearls. Proceeding further along the coast of Venezuela, he found the pearl fisheries. He was greatly troubled by the flood of fresh water which issued from the Orinoco, and came to the conclusion that he had arrived at a part of the earth which was highest and nearest the firmament. 'I have no doubt,' he wrote, 'that if I could pass beyond the equator after reaching the highest point, I should find a mild climate again, and fresh changes in the sea and the stars.' He thought that the great stream might be one of the rivers of Paradise, otherwise it must come from 'a vast land in the south' . . . 'but the more I reason on it the more I hold it true that the earthly Paradise is there.'

When Columbus at last reached Hispaniola in August, he found that his brother Bartholomew had transported

the capital to the new city of San Domingo, named after their father Domenico Columbus. The colony was as distracted as ever. Roldan, to whom the admiral had entrusted 'the rod of justice,' had joined the mutineers, and even when he was forced to return to his allegiance, the desperadoes refused to be included in the reconciliation. Meanwhile, the admiral was greatly vexed at the appearance of adventurers with special charters, exempt from his jurisdiction. Notably, there arrived, in September 1499, Ojeda, now a free-lance, with four ships. He had on board, as general adviser, Amerigo Vespucci, who subsequently wrote an account of the voyage, which had, as luck would have it, followed more or less the track of Columbus' last journey. This account was printed by a bookseller, who gave the name of America to the new land round the Gulf of Paria. Thus it is, by a whim of fortune, that the continent, which Columbus discovered, bears the name of another.

Meanwhile, a considerable number of gold mines were being discovered, but owing to the complete breakdown of the administration neither the crown nor Columbus reaped the profits which were due to them. The admiral accordingly made every effort to subdue the malcontents, whose leader was a young hidalgo, Hernando de Guevara, and his cousin Adrian de Moxica. While in exile Guevara had become betrothed to the daughter of Anacoana, the queen of one of the districts of the island. Roldan, who saw the danger of such a marriage, arrested Guevara, and sent him to San Domingo. De Moxica at once collected a large force, but Roldan was too quick; the insurgents were captured, and, after a painful scene, Moxica was condemned and hanged. A few days later a new commissioner arrived from Spain.

This man, Bobadilla, had been sent with large powers to supersede Columbus, if the reports which were lodged

against his tyrannical government proved true. He arrived to find great excitement in the new capital owing to the summary methods which were being used against de Moxica's followers. Columbus himself was in the Vega, and the new commissioner was besieged with complaints. He completely failed to recognise the difference between a young colony and an old settled country. Without waiting to hear the other side he decided against the admiral, and, assuming the whole power of government, he ordered Columbus to return, and thereon arrested him and his brother, and cast them into prison.

It was as a prisoner in irons that the admiral appeared before his sovereigns on the return from his third journey. They accepted his excuses, acquitted him of all charges, but refused to restore him to his title and honour in the new country he had discovered. But though he had lost his proud position as governor of the new lands, his thirst for adventure was by no means quenched. Da Gama had returned triumphantly to Portugal, in 1499, after visiting India, and Columbus longed to find the strait leading round the southern continent into the Indian Ocean. In the spring of 1502 he received permission to sail west. He had with him four ships, one of which was under the command of his brother Bartholomew, and he took with him his little son Ferdinand, the writer of the history.

The admiral had received explicit orders not to go near Hispaniola on his way out. But in spite of this, after touching at Martinique, he sailed straight to Hispaniola, in time to see his enemy Bobadilla set out for Spain with £30,000 in specie. His long practice at sea told him that a hurricane was approaching; but Bobadilla would not heed his warnings, and, sailing away, was heard of no more. From Hispaniola the admiral pushed westward and reached the Bay of Honduras. From there he turned south and coasted along the Isthmus of Darien, seeking a strait,



but never guessing that a narrow peninsula divided him from an unknown ocean. As he went along the coast he gathered a considerable store of pearls and gold. He felt convinced that the treasure of the temple was to be found in the region of Veragua, which he identified as the golden peninsula spoken of by Josephus. With his return journey his ill-fortune came on afresh. He lost all but two ships, and ultimately they came into collision, and sank off the coast of Jamaica. The crews escaped ashore, but the difficulty was how to send news of their plight to Hispaniola. At last one of the officers, Mendoz, undertook to make the voyage thither in a native canoe. But when he arrived in the colony the governor refused to send any aid, and it was about a year before Mendoz was able himself to hire a caravel. During this period the admiral and his party remained at Santa Gloria in Jamaica, owing their lives to the friendship of the natives who supplied them with food.

On November 7th, 1504, Columbus landed at San Lucar in Spain. His days of adventure were now over. His old friend the queen was dead, and the king was too busy planning diplomatic marriages for his children to listen to his claims or his offers of service. The admiral was broken in health, but his spirit was as strong as ever, 'though the gout was racking him without mercy.' He tried hard to have his claims in the Indies exchanged for a pension in Castile, urging that the Indies were 'showing daily more and more what they were like to be, and how great would be the admiral's share.' But it was of no avail, the gout took firmer and firmer hold on him, and he died at last in an inn at Valladolid, on Ascension Day, May 21st, 1506. He was buried in that city, but three years afterwards his coffin was conveyed to the convent of Las Ceuvas in Seville. From there, in 1541, the remains were translated to the cathedral of San Domingo to a stone

vault on the gospel side of the altar. They remained there till 1877, when they were sent to their present resting-place in Cuba.

The discovery of the New World by Columbus is probably the greatest secular event in the history of Europe. It affected every department of life and thought. It completely revolutionised men's ideas of the universe. It broke down barriers of religion, of custom, and of nationality. It opened wide for investigation vast regions of speculation in geography, natural science, and astronomy. It led to the founding of new states, where these new theories of political science and religion might be put into practice. These new states in their turn have deeply affected the political and social organisation of the old world.

To Columbus belongs the supreme honour of having been the pioneer who led the way across the Sea of Darkness. It in no way lessens his prestige that, even before his time, men of science were sure that it was possible to cross the Atlantic. The fact remains that, until his day, there was no seaman with sufficient inspiration and practical skill to perform this wonderful feat of seamanship. He alone had the necessary power of observation to note with his own eyes the evidence in favour of the possibility of the attempt: he alone had the steadfastness of purpose to cling to his scheme in the face of every rebuff, and he alone had the skill and daring to carry it to completion. The pity is that he did not remain a seaman pure and simple. It was the fatal store of pride and ambition at the root of his character which has robbed him of his fair name in history, and lost for him the honour of perpetuating that name in the continent which he discovered.

Columbus set out to find the New World from pure desire of adventure, and to win new realms to Christ. He was led away from this, his true province, by the sight of gold;

when the lust for gold was not satisfied quickly enough to suit his own desires, or those of his master Ferdinand, he was led into giving his sanction to slavery. Thus it is that he must ever bear the odium of being the originator of that cruel form of government which has blotted out the Caribs from the face of the earth, and has implanted the debased negro race in the fairest portion of the globe. Still, even in this we must not blame him too much, for we must remember that he had been trained in the Portuguese service, where it was held that gold and slaves were the only things worth importing into Europe.

As an administrator Columbus was a failure. His political economy was bad to begin with, and he had not the art of governing large bodies of men. His was the mind of a trickster rather than that of a statesman. He was also too innately selfish for his position : he did not scruple to take the reward for the discovery of Guanahani from the seaman who actually saw it first. It was his misfortune that he turned from seamanship to statesmanship. If he had remained purely and simply the adventurer, he would not have been exposed to trials which his character was not able to bear. Doubtless, with his powers of observation, his faculty of deduction, in the fourteen years which intervened between his first discoveries and his death, he could have mapped out the whole coast of the continent, instead of merely adding to the map, the West Indian Archipelago, the coast of Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Darien, and Paria in Venezuela. Had this been the case he would have known before he died that, what he had discovered was not the coast-line of Asia, but a new continent, which doubtless would have borne his name.

## MARTIN LUTHER

IN the two preceding chapters we have traced the various causes which, teaching men to view the world from entirely new aspects, led to a complete revolution in civilisation. At such a crisis it was no wonder that men began to scrutinise the foundations of their belief. Thus it is that the dominating note of the sixteenth century is the Reformation. The Reformation, like all other great movements, was not the result of a cataclysm but the offspring of evolution. Though the Church of the West, under the domination of the Papacy, had for centuries shown an impenetrable front to the world, she had only done so by successfully embracing new movements of thought, or by ruthlessly crushing all attempted schisms. On the one hand we remember how she found room within her portals for the disciples of St. Francis and St. Dominic : on the other we call to mind how she dealt with the Albigenses. But from the time she accepted the friars down to the commencement of the sixteenth century, she admitted no fresh infusion of thought ; not because there was no new religious movement during that period, but because her rulers were too much engaged in their effort to aggrandise their own position, or in fighting among themselves.

The evangelical movement started by Wycliffe in England, and developed by Huss in Bohemia, was labelled as a heresy and assailed by every form of cruelty. But, in spite of the thunders of the Church, Wycliffe and Huss

had done their work, and, to some extent, the Bible became a book known at least to the trading classes and to some portion of the peasantry of northern Europe. Meanwhile, the political position of the Papacy had been assailed by the monarchs of the West. The Babylonish Captivity, as we remember, was followed at the end of the reign of Charles IV. by the Great Schism. From 1378 to 1417, the world saw with astonishment a pope at Avignon and another at Rome mutually excommunicating each other. The scandal was ended by the Council of Constance (1414-1417). This council was summoned by the Emperor Sigismund in conjunction with the kings of France and England. Although it upheld the papal doctrine to the extent of burning John Huss as a heretic, it seriously considered the question, propounded a generation earlier by Wycliffe, as to whether it would not be for the benefit of the world, if the Papacy was stripped of its riches and the Church returned to apostolic poverty.

The unity of the Church was restored at Constance, and the reformers so far got their way that it was laid down that, in future, there must be a sequence of councils to supervise the Papacy. The next council met in 1431 at Basle, and its deliberations degenerated into mere futile wrangling between the papal party and the reforming party. Ultimately, owing to the excesses of the reformers, the pope was able to close the council. Thereafter the Renaissance became the dominant thought in men's minds, and there was so little religious vitality in the age, that the excesses of Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia) and Julius II. (Giuliano della Rovere) were condoned in consideration of the work they effected for art, and the temporal position they gained for the Church.

While in Italy the leaders of European thought were casting religion to the winds, in Germany, during the latter half of the fifteenth century, there appeared a strange



growth of piety. Owing to bad sanitation the plague had become almost endemic; new diseases were constantly appearing, and the rumours of an invasion by the dreaded Turks were ever on men's lips. The whole country was permeated by a strange restlessness. Relics and pilgrimages became in constant demand: bands of children, infected by the prevailing terror, started off on pilgrimages in their shirts. Thus religion was brought home to every one, but it was the religion of terror. Christ was no longer the loving Saviour but the dread judge, who could only be propitiated through His mother Mary, or her mother Anne. Strange to say, while the people at large were thus oppressed by religious fears, the secular clergy remained unmoved and sunk in moral degradation. But it was different with the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian friars. They went back to the old system of mortifying the flesh, and by their energy and spiritual light became the popular preachers and confessors. There were not, however, wanting other signs to show that a change was coming. The German people had from the time of the Council of Constance been awaiting the promised reform of ecclesiastical institutions. They bitterly grudged the vast sums that were drained annually in Peter's Pence, and other forms, to the papal coffers. In despair of these reforms, by the end of the fifteenth century we find the rulers of Saxony and Brandenburg exercising the *jus episcopale* for the good of the state, quietly setting aside the old franchises and privileges of the Church, while laymen were exercising their right to do Christian work in their own way by giving donations and leaving bequests, to be administered for charitable purposes by town councils or secular authorities. Meanwhile, religious associations for service and prayer of a strictly non-cleric formation were springing up all over the country.

The marked characteristics of this movement throughout

Germany were its spontaneity and its lack of regulation. This was due to the German Constitution. There had been but little strengthening of the central power since the days of the Golden Bull of Charles IV. In 1437 Sigismund, the last of the Luxemburg emperors, died, and was succeeded in that year by Albert II. of Hapsburg; and until the dissolution of the empire in 1806, with a brief interval in the eighteenth century, the Hapsburgs held the Imperial sceptre. In the main their policy consisted in gradually absorbing into their own hands the various fiefs of the empire, and making little or no effort to strengthen the empire itself. During the reign of Maximilian (1493-1519) the electors attempted to force the emperor to strengthen the empire by (1), putting an end to private feuds; (2) establishing a federative Court of Justice independent of the emperor; (3) organising an equitable system of Imperial taxation under control of the Diet; (4) dividing the country up into circles for military administrative purposes; and (5) establishing a check on the emperor by means of an effective Central Council.

The net result of these attempts was that an Imperial Chancery (*Reichskammer*), and the circles, with their system of taxation and levy of soldiers, existed with some modifications to the end of the empire. But the Imperial Council of Regency (*Reichsregiment*), which was supposed to control the emperor, disappeared early in the reign of Charles V. The Diet, owing to the exclusion of most of the towns and all the knights, became an assembly of hereditary nobles with but little authority, though at times able to make itself felt when the emperor was engaged in purely dynastic pursuits outside the empire.

But a more mighty influence than that of the emperor was about to arise in Germany, for, on November 10th, 1483, Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, on the northern edge of the *Thüringer Wald*. His parents belonged to the

sturdy peasantry of Saxony. His father, John, was by trade a miner, a man of iron will and sane intelligence, who, by his own thrift and skill, gradually forced his way up from a mere workman to the position of manager of a group of furnaces owned by himself at Mansfeld, whither he had moved soon after his eldest son Martin's birth. Luther's parents were spartans with a distinctly evangelical turn of mind. They taught their children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the crude and simple hymns of the day, and the works of Jesus from the Gospels. This religious education, 'the faith of the children,' as he called it, was one of the dominant factors in Luther's life. But equally important was the sternness, not to say harshness, with which every little fault, every little outburst of temper, was punished; for the strictness of his parents tended to emphasise in the boy's mind the idea of Christ and His Heavenly Father as avenging judges. One other influence of childhood is important to note, namely, the materialistic tendency of the German peasant to attribute everything, at all strange or ill-omened, to the personal action of the devil. This tendency was, no doubt, more prevalent in Mansfeld than in many other places, owing to its situation on the edge of the wild Thüringer Wald.

Martin's quickness and intelligence did not escape the eye of his father, who destined him for a higher situation than he himself occupied, and sent him off at the age of fourteen, with a boy friend, to beg his education as a poor student at Magdeburg. After a year at Magdeburg the boy next went to St. George's High School at Eisenach, where, while receiving lodging and education free in return for singing in the church choir, he had to get his bread by begging. The effect of his harsh training at home already began to show itself. The dominating note of fear overclouded the evangelical faith implanted in him at

home. He tells us how at Magdeburg he had been impressed by seeing a young Prince of Anhalt, who had forsaken home and rank to save his soul, wandering starved and bare-footed through the city begging bread, and scourging his poor emaciated body. Another event of those Magdeburg days left a burning mark in his memory. He went into a church, and above the altar saw a picture of a ship representing the Catholic Church. In it was the pope with his cardinals and bishops, the crew consisting of monks and priests, the helmsman being the Holy Ghost. The ship was sailing to heaven, but not a layman was on board, though some were swimming about in the water trying to pull themselves on board by means of ropes and cords. The picture haunted him for years, the question constantly returning to his mind: Was it only by taking orders that a man could save his soul? Everything tended to this conclusion. The town of Eisenach was under the spell of St. Elizabeth, who had deserted family comforts and position for the sake of religion. The beautiful stained glass window of the church where Luther sang told her story, and the monks were not slow to enforce it on his willing mind.

But even at Eisenach Luther came under a contrary influence. One day when begging he met a Frau Cotta, who belonged to a notable family of the town. She was so charmed with his singing that she insisted on his making her house his home. Frau Cotta was as virtuous and as devout as Saint Elizabeth, but in another way; she believed that holiness could best be expressed by doing her duty in that state of life to which God had called her. Under her influence Luther lost his rugged ways, and found that gentleness could exist with true religion. His life also about this time was considerably brightened by learning to play the flute. But nothing can better explain to us his state of mind than his incredulous surprise, when

one day he heard Frau Cotta declare that there is nothing more lovely on earth than the love of husband and wife, when it is in the fear of the Lord.

In 1501 Luther, at the age of seventeen, moved from the High School at Eisenach to the University of Erfurt, which, he tells us, 'enjoyed such distinction that all others in comparison were mere village schools.' Erfurt was the recognised meeting-place of the 'humanism' of Italy and the 'scholasticism' of Germany. It was also noted for a system of biblical exegesis and for a strong strain of anticlericalism; in fact, it represented every school of thought. Luther's father had sent him to the university with the idea of his becoming a lawyer. He accordingly began a course of philosophy which included logic, dialectic and rhetoric, followed by physics and astronomy. Consequently, he had but little time to devote to the study of the Humanities. Still, in private he managed to read a considerable number of classical authors, especially Virgil, whose *Bucolics* and *Georgics* were his favourite books. Very soon he began to make a name for himself among his fellow students, who called him 'the philosopher.' By 1505 he had successfully taken his master's degree, in the examination for which he was second out of seventeen competitors. His father was delighted, and sent him a most handsome present of a *Corpus Juris*, considering it a most appropriate gift for the future lawyer.

But it is a question whether Luther himself had ever really decided to enter the law. As the years had passed, his religious doubts and fears had gathered rather than dispersed: the remembrance of his early days had killed all sympathy between himself and his parents, and, though he was far too good a German to disobey, there was no natural confidence between them. As he returned from paying a visit to his home, in July of the year in which



he took his degree, a terrible thunderstorm broke over him. One vivid flash of lightning followed by a terrible peal of thunder almost blinded him. As he sank to the ground half unconscious he cried out, 'Help, Saint Anne! save me, save me, and I will become a monk.' He had already been greatly upset by the sudden death of a friend in the hunting-field. The idea of death in fact obsessed him. Accordingly, that very evening after entertaining his friends, but without notifying his parents, he walked up to the Augustinian Convent at Erfurt and demanded to be taken as a novice. The resolve, sudden as it seemed at the time, was as we know the result of years of doubt. 'Doubt makes a monk,' says the old proverb, and certainly this was true of Luther's case.

The reformed Augustinian Eremites represented the best class of monks in Germany. Their convents were for the most part in the greater towns, and the brethren were encouraged to study, with the result that they held the chairs of philosophy and theology at many of the universities of Germany. Though called after St. Augustine they seldom if ever read his works, and their dogma belonged to the opposite pole of mediæval thought, for they were strenuous teachers of the doctrine of the 'Immaculate Conception,' and vehement in spreading the 'cult of the Blessed Anne.' Further, it is interesting to note that they were great upholders of the papal supremacy.

Luther spent his year of noviciate in the study of theology, and, in April 1507, took his orders as priest. The two years were times of perplexity. In spite of fastings, prayers, and scourgings, doubt was still undissipated; added to this his father's displeasure caused him many a pang. However, about the time of his ordination, his father, who had lost his second son, so far relented as to have an interview with him, and sent him twenty guilders

for his consecration feast. By now Martin was considered a model of monastic piety ; but he felt no relief from sin : God seemed as far from him as ever. Certainty was what he wanted—certainty that he would be saved. With his brain he assented to the creed ; he could follow the sequence of contrition, confession and pardon, but the thought which ever recurred was how could he tell that his contrition was real, that his confession was complete ? The superior of the convent could not deal with the situation, but fortunately the Vicar-General of the Order, Staupitz, was a man of understanding. He advised Luther to read the Bible, St. Augustine and Tauler ; but still Luther was oppressed by the contrast, which had sunk into his soul, between the teaching of the mediæval Church of the extreme sinfulness of man and the awful righteousness of God. He asked Staupitz how it was possible for man to achieve the righteousness of God ? Staupitz gradually was able to show him that it was not a matter of human effort but of Divine Grace ; that man might attain it, not by his own works, but in and through Christ. Fellowship with God was the solution of the mystery, and fellowship was the result of trust or faith. Thus it was that there dawned in Luther's soul an understanding of the text, 'The just shall live by faith.' Hence he was led to comprehend that penitence was not the end of all things, but the beginning of a new life lived in the love and confidence of God. 'Formerly,' he wrote to Staupitz, 'there had hardly, within the whole range of scriptures, been a more bitter word for me than this same "penitence"—and that although I had sedulously tried to disguise my true feelings from God and to express, as sinner, an affection that was feigned, and as free, an affection that was forced. Nothing now in all the Bible has for me a sweeter or more grateful sound than penitence.' He had indeed learned how, when the love of God enters the

human heart, the soul turns from sin and gives itself in joyful surrender to God.

For the year following his conversion Luther continued to live as a monk in the convent at Erfurt. He now recognised that life was a gift given by God to be enjoyed ; but, in spite of his sense of pardon, he still remained a true son of the mediæval Church. He had as yet no thought of challenging its doctrines or institutions. In the following year, 1509, by Staupitz's direction, he was transferred with some other monks to assist in the new University of Wittenberg, which had been founded, in 1502, by Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony. From the first the university had fallen under the tutelage of the Augustinian Eremites. Frederic had a great regard for them from his boyhood, and Staupitz was a close personal friend. The university was very poor, and its professors were mainly paid by prebends attached to the Castle Church. After the first enthusiasm the students began to fall off in numbers, and the professors departed to seek richer emoluments elsewhere. It was to fill one of these vacancies that Luther was summoned to Wittenberg. His duty was to teach the dialectics and physics of Aristotle—an uncongenial task. He would have preferred theology, 'which,' he wrote, 'is the kernel of the nut, the core of the wheat, the marrow of the bone.'

In 1511 his duties at Wittenberg were interrupted by a journey to Rome. Staupitz, the Vicar of the Augustinian order, was anxious to amalgamate the reformed and unreformed monasteries. Difficulties arose, and it was imperative to send to Rome a messenger on whom he could absolutely depend. He accordingly selected Luther as the most trustworthy of the stricter order of the monks. Luther entered Rome in a state of the greatest exultation. 'I greet thee, thou Holy Rome, thine holy power the blood of the martyrs.' So he exclaimed when he

first saw the city. His official business proceeded smoothly and quickly, and he seems to have had no complaints to make against the Curia. He climbed the thirty-eight steps leading to the vestibule of St. Peter—every step counting a remission of seven years' purgatory. He visited all the shrines, gazed in admiration on all the relics, said Masses for the souls of his parents, and listened reverently to the tales of the martyrs. But a man of Luther's keen perception could not be long in Rome without finding out that there was something far wrong. 'Be done, you heavy blockhead,' the priests would say as he reverently read the Mass, 'and let our Lady have her Son again.' Others might be heard to mutter at the consecration of the elements, 'Bread thou art and bread thou wilt remain: wine thou art and wine thou wilt continue to be.' Cardinals lived in open sin, and the papal courtiers scoffed at the idea of chastity. Little wonder was it that Luther turned from Rome, more than ever convinced in his soul of the uselessness of works without faith.

In October 1512, Luther took his doctor's degree in theology, after a short course of study at Erfurt. He now succeeded Staupitz as Professor of Theology at Wittenberg. He was fast becoming an important figure in the world of learning in Germany, and his sermons were celebrated far and wide. He was by upbringing and habit of mind a practical man. Theology he looked upon as an 'experimental discipline,' whereby a man might find the grace of God, and by that means live a life in God's service. Having failed to find it himself in the system of penitence of the schoolmen, he did not stop to criticise their methods, but he took his hearers back to the personal religion of St. Augustine and St. Bernard. Gradually he developed the doctrine 'that man receives pardon by the free grace of God, that when he lays hold of God's promise of pardon he becomes a new creature, that the sense of pardon is the

beginning of a new life of sanctification.' By the middle of 1516, he reached the parting of the ways on the practical issue of indulgences, on which subject he preached a sermon in July of that year. The current doctrine of the age was known as the Sacrament of Penance. Absolution was granted after contrition and confession; it removed all the guilt of sin and all eternal punishment. But it did not at once open the gates of heaven; it did not take away the punishment of purgatory. The pains of purgatory could only be removed after the performance of the penance imposed by the priest; that is, by a temporal satisfaction. This, however, raised the question as to how a man could be sure that the priest had imposed the proper penance, and that the satisfaction, equivalent to the demand of God, had been performed. It was here that indulgences came in; for, according to the theologians, the pope had under his especial charge a Treasury of Merits, consisting of the accumulated good deeds of living men and of the saints in heaven. An indulgence was in fact a draft on this treasury, granted by the pope, which secured remission of penalties after contrition, confession and absolution, whether the priest had imposed a sufficient penalty or whether he had not. Indulgences were also useful to the indifferent Christian, who was not certain that his sorrow was real contrition, but whose conscience told him that something more was necessary than perfunctory confession and absolution. This was known as the doctrine of Attrition, and though not universally held, was preached at Erfurt by John von Palz, who was Professor of Theology at the moment Luther entered on his monastic career.

A year after his first sermon on indulgences, in the autumn of 1517, Luther, by now Vicar of the Augustinian order in Misnia and Thuringia, heard with indignation that a Dominican monk, by name Tetzl, had arrived in the Magdeburg district with the object of selling an indulgence.



This particular indulgence had been granted by Leo x. (Giovanni de' Medici) to the Archbishop of Maintz, who had passed it on to Tetzel. The money thus raised was to be devoted to the rebuilding of St. Peter's Church at Rome. Frederic of Saxony had refused to allow the commissary to enter his territory, but Tetzel had established himself just across the border, and many of Luther's congregation had proceeded thither to buy the indulgence. It was not to be supposed that the 'common man' could understand the abstruse doctrine of penitence, and Luther was furious at seeing his beloved congregation encouraged to believe that they could buy their salvation with money. So, about noon, on October 31st, he walked down to the market-place and posted on the door of the Castle Church a document containing ninety-five theses, making six distinct assertions about the efficacy of indulgences. First, that the indulgence can only remit an ecclesiastical penalty; second, that the pope himself cannot remit guilt; third, that God alone can remit punishment for sin; fourth, that the penalties of the Church only refer to the living, the pope having no power over souls in purgatory; fifth, that the Christian who has received pardon from God requires no indulgence; sixth, that there is no such thing as a Treasury of Merits as defined by the schoolmen.

Within a fortnight Luther's theses were known all over Germany. They were popular, because there was a growing feeling of irritation at the papal demands for money; they appealed to the simple-minded because of their popular treatment, and they expressed what thousands of pious Germans had been thinking. Tetzel published a counter-thesis at the end of the year, but the most capable reply was the Obelisks of Doctor John Eck of Ingolstadt. The papal Curia at first did not concern itself; Pope Leo, thinking the matter was a mere monkish quarrel

between Luther and Eck, took no notice of the matter. During the summer of 1518, Luther wrote a general answer to his opponents—among whom was Prierias, a papal censor and friend of Leo—in a book called the *Resolutions*, which he dedicated to Staupitz and sent to the pope. To Luther's mind the crux of the situation was whether human intellect was to remain bound, and all speculation on matters of faith debarred either by the plea of ecclesiastical usage, or by that of the infallibility of the pope. On the papal side the purely intellectual question was not considered important; but the question as to whether the Curia could in future raise money by indulgences attacked the base of the papal revenue, and might cause great financial embarrassment. Accordingly, in July 1518, Luther was summoned to Rome.

Luther was fortunate in that one of his greatest friends, Spalatin, was chaplain to Frederic of Saxony; he accordingly wrote to him to ask him to point out to Frederic that this summons to Rome was a slight on the rights of German universities. The elector was at the moment attending the Diet at Augsburg. Spalatin wrote to his master and also to the Emperor Maximilian. Both these princes determined to defend Luther: Frederic, because he was jealous of any interference with his university; and Maximilian, because he thought he might find in him a useful lever in any future quarrel with the Papacy. The result of their efforts was that the pope entrusted Cardinal Cajetan, his legate in Germany, with the business of interviewing Luther and compelling him to recant. The emperor had warned the pope that there was a spirit of revolt abroad, and that he ought to be cautious in his dealings with Luther; but the cardinal, after first trying to win Luther by bribes, refused to allow him to discuss his theses, and contented himself by insisting that he should recant. In the end Luther returned home with

the feeling that as the pope was so ill-informed he had better appeal to a General Council, and at once set to work to write an account of his interview with the legate—the *Acta Augustana*, which were speedily published and read all over Germany.

At Wittenberg Luther daily expected to hear that he had been excommunicated as a heretic; but political events were happening which for the time diverted the papal attention to another quarter. In January 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died; there at once appeared three candidates for the Imperial crown—his grandson Charles, Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England. The real choice lay between Francis and Charles. The pope threw himself on the side of Francis, for he could not but regard with grave apprehension the possibility of Charles' ascent to the Imperial throne. Charles was, by the death of his mother Joanna, already King of Spain, which included the new world and the kingdom of the two Sicilies; and also through his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, he succeeded Maximilian as ruler of the Netherlands, Lorraine, and Franche Comté. Leo desired to gain the vote of Frederic of Saxony for the candidature of the French king; accordingly he sent him the Golden Rose, and despatched one of his chamberlains, a Saxon, Von Miltitz, to sound Luther. Von Miltitz, on arriving in Germany, found that the result of the action of Cajetan had been to weld together into one movement the religious reformation, the humanist intellectual revolt, and the growing restlessness against the papal domination. A man of considerable tact and perspicacity, he felt that the matter must be handled most carefully. On interviewing Luther he found that the monk was ready to yield in so far as to write a submissive letter to the pope, and declare that indulgences were useful in remitting temporal canonical penalties. But, unfortunately for the Papacy,

all its adherents were not so politic as von Miltitz, and Luther had to withstand many assaults, notably from Eck; all these pamphleteers confronted him with the doctrine of the absolute authority of the pope. This forced Luther to investigate the papal decretals, with the consequence that he found that a great many of them were forged. The result came as a complete shock to one who, in spite of his opinion on indulgences, had never challenged the papal supremacy. He was accordingly quite pleased to accept the offer of a public disputation with Eck at Leipzig, hoping that it would clear up the question of the papal supremacy. But Eck had other objects in view; his main desire was to fasten on Luther the opprobrium of the word heretic. He cleverly forced him to acknowledge that in his opinion the doctrines of Wycliffe and Huss were not wrong. The effect of this admission was most disastrous; the audience looked on askance; and Duke George of Saxony cried out, 'God help us! the plague!'

The Leipzig disputation taught Luther where he really stood. He followed it up in 1520 by writing and publishing his three well-known books, the great Reformation treatises, *The Liberty of a Christian Man*, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of the Christian Commonwealth*, and *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*. The appeal to the Christian nobility of the German nation made the greatest impression. It began by demonstrating that the pretended spiritual power, which made reform impossible, was a mere delusion, and that the claim of the pope to be the sole interpreter of the Scriptures was foolish—for they lay open to all true believers. It proceeded to point out that the laity had every right to summon and take part in a General Council; it recounted the enormous toll the Papacy levied on Germany, and ended by sketching out a comprehensive

plan for a national German Church with a national ecclesiastical council ; it also suggested the reduction of the mendicant orders, the inspection of religious houses, the limitation of pilgrimages and feast days, and advocated the marriage of parish priests to put an end to the immoral concubinage of the clergy.

Germany was electrified ; every grievance, every abuse was so clearly defined ; the reforms were so in accordance with what was desired. Nobles and burghers, humanists and reformers felt they had gained a leader ; and it was with difficulty that the papal bull of excommunication could be published. Luther himself burned it publicly ; and in many places, where its publication was attempted, there were riots.

The papal party now turned to the emperor, Charles v., and the pope despatched as his envoy Girolamo Aleander, a cultivated ecclesiastic, well-known in Germany. The new emperor called together his first Diet at Worms. There was much to arrange for the government of Germany during his absence in the other parts of his dominions. There was the all-absorbing question of foreign policy ; the point to be elucidated being whether the pope would aid him in expelling the French from Lombardy. Lastly came the question of the religious disturbance in Germany. Charles, though his mind was slow-moving, was eminently clear-headed and businesslike, and possessed of great determination. Himself a staunch Catholic, he was very anxious to win the pope over to his side in the struggle in Italy ; but he refused to allow Luther to be condemned unheard, or until the consent of the diet had been gained. The diet resolved that Luther should be heard, and, on April 15th, he arrived at Worms under a safe-conduct. The next day he had to face the diet. He was asked to retract what he had written, and was given a day to consider his reply. After some hours of terrible depression



he made up his mind, and calmly entered the diet. He confessed that some of the expressions in his books were more insolent than beseemed a Christian, and for these he apologised ; but, he would not retract his condemnation of the Papacy, though he was willing to listen to any one who could prove that he was wrong. Through Eck, Charles told him he must retract what he had said in contradiction to the Council of Constance ; but Luther replied that he knew both pope and councils had often erred, but that he was bound by his conscience to the Holy Scriptures.

It was clear that Luther's conscience, bound fast to the Holy Scriptures, was not to be overawed by any council, and there was nothing for it but to pronounce against him the ban of the empire, though he was allowed to leave Worms before the pronouncement. It is significant that the day the ban was issued the pope made a secret treaty with Charles v. Meanwhile, Luther, as he journeyed homewards, was seized by a band of soldiers belonging to the Elector Frederic, and carried off to the Castle of Wartburg, where he remained until it was safe for him to return to Wittenberg.

The ban of the empire could not be put into force, for, as the papal nuncio said, nine-tenths of Germany cried ' Long live Luther ' and the other tenth ' Down with the Church.' If it had not been for the question of doctrine, Charles would also have been on his side. While Luther remained in retirement at Wartburg, busily engaged in translating the Bible, and at times even subjected to those mental doubts which had assailed him in the cloister, and especially as to whether he was right and the rest of the Church wrong, the intellectual ferment throughout Germany gathered head. At Wittenberg Melanchthon, Luther's bosom friend, forsook his Greek professorship to lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul ; and Carlstadt, an old

ally, took Luther's place. Carlstadt was one of the acutest intellects of the day. He doubted the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and the identity with their original form of the Gospels, as they then existed. He attacked celibacy of the clergy, and monasticism, and denounced the adoration of the Eucharist and private Masses. He was carried onward in his course of destruction by the influx from Zwickau of Nicolas Storch, Thomas Münzer, Marcus Stübner, and their disciples. These men believed themselves as much inspired as the writers of the Scriptures; they gained the name of Anabaptists, as they ridiculed infant baptism on the ground that infants could not have faith. They had been forced to fly from Zwickau because they had planned the slaughter of their opponents under the idea that the Church had to be purified by blood.

Luther at Wartburg heard of the Anabaptists. With his practical good sense he saw that unless the reforming party was saved from the crude social democracy preached by the Zwickau extremists, it would be ruined. Braving the ban of the empire, in March 1522, he reappeared at Wittenberg, and in a course of eight sermons won over the town to his side. But it was not only the extremists whom Luther had to fight. Scholars and men of artistic temperament were repelled by his doctrine that faith was everything, for it seemed to deny free will and individual merit, and soon he found himself engaged in an argument with Erasmus. Meanwhile, a considerable party arose in Germany which, desiring a reformation in the Church, but looking to a General Council to effect it, refused to range itself under Luther's banner. But for the most part the laity of Germany grouped themselves either on the side of the pope or of Luther. In some cases municipal politics decided to which interest a town should belong; in other cases dynastic ambition solved the problem. But roughly the partisans of the Latin Church

were the inhabitants of the old Roman Empire; where Caesar's standards had been planted and military colonies established, there the Roman Church prevailed; elsewhere Luther's doctrine gained the day. But the Latin Church only retained these possessions by copying the methods of its adversaries, by curtailing the privileges of the clergy, and by allowing the secular rulers to annex for their own use a considerable amount of Church property.

During the years 1522-1524, the reforming party took its political shape. Luther finally converted Frederic of Saxony and his brother John, who succeeded him in 1525, while Melanchthon won over Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Other notable converts were Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ulrich, Duke of Würtemberg; and Isabella, sister of Charles v. and wife of Christian II. of Denmark. Meanwhile, at the diets held in 1522 and 1524, the pope's legates had been unable to enforce the papal decrees against Luther, for the diets refused to put into force the Edict of Worms; in fact, in 1524, Cardinal Campeggio was received at Augsburg with jeers and insults. Political confusion increased, for the diet demanded that a National Synod should meet in November, to be followed by a General Council. The pope was furious, and the emperor set his face against these proposals, for it would mean the formation of a German National Church, which might lead to the establishment of a national government independent of himself. However, a great advance was made towards disruption, for Campeggio with the sanction of the pope proceeded to organise a meeting of the Catholic princes at Ratisbon; where, in return for their aid against Lutheranism, they were granted a fifth of the revenue of the Church in their territories.

What made the situation more threatening was the fact that, during the year 1524, there had been great unrest among the peasants in Swabia. Like the Peasant Rising

in England during the reign of Richard II. the revolt was, in its origin, due to social causes, to the burden of feudal taxes, the vexation of ecclesiastical courts, and other exactions. By February 1525, the peasants had risen in arms from the left bank of the Rhine to the Tyrol, and from the lake of Constance to Thuringia and Saxony. Thomas Münzer, one of the Zwickau prophets, put himself at the head of the rising in Thuringia. As might have been expected, hearing that Luther's doctrine proclaimed that Christ had made all men free, the peasants demanded that all their grievances should be tested by the Word of God. Luther's first instinct was to sympathise with them in their fight against tyranny, as he had sympathised with the knights' revolt in 1522 under Sickingen against the electors. But, when the peasants proceeded to acts of atrocity, he would no longer lend them any countenance. Regardless as ever of his personal safety, he hurried into Thuringia, and from pulpit after pulpit he inveighed against the insurrection. His sympathies were all on the side of law and order, and he was half inclined to think that the peasants were mad.

Luther's action during the Peasant Revolt had far-reaching consequences, in that for the future the men of the soil turned a deaf ear to the exhortations of the Lutheran Church; in fact, we find Melanchthon confessing on one occasion that the people loathed him and his fellow divines. On the other hand, it cemented once and for all the alliance which had gradually been taking shape between the Lutheran states and the Lutheran Church. It was only to be expected that Luther's dictum, 'The ass *will* have blows and the people *will* be ruled by force,' should appeal to those in authority. One further result of the Peasant Rising was that the Catholic princes became convinced that they would never have security or peace until heresy was stamped out. Consequently, Duke

George of Saxony, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, Albrecht of Maintz, Duke Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and other Catholic princes met, in July 1526, to discuss the formation of a Catholic League. Thereon a defence alliance was formed in October between Philip of Hesse and the elector, John of Saxony, which was soon joined by the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Henry of Mecklenburg, and others. Fortunately for the cause of Lutheranism, in spite of his victory over Francis I. at Pavia in 1525, Charles was so occupied with Italian politics, and with the government of Spain, that he was unable to lend his weight to the Catholic League. At a diet held at Speyer in 1526, by what was known as the Recess, it was determined that each state 'should so live, rule, and conduct itself as it shall be ready to answer God and his Imperial Majesty.' This was a great step towards the ultimate solution of ecclesiastical settlement on the lines of territorialism (*cujus regio ejus religio*).

But in 1529, three years later, Rome, having been sacked (1527), and the pope being a prisoner, the emperor was free to turn his attention to Germany, and the Catholic cause was once again in the ascendant. The reformers had also suffered a great set back owing to the rapid spread of the sect of Zwinglians, who were heartily disliked by Luther as they refused to allow that the Lord's Supper was anything more than a memorial service. Philip of Hesse, seeing the importance of union among the reformers, arranged a meeting at Marburg between Luther and Melancthon on one side and Zwingli and Bucer on the other; but the convention failed owing to Luther's stubbornly refusing to make any concession on the question of the sacrament. At a second diet held at Speyer the Recess was revoked. Thereon John, Elector of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, George, Margrave of Brandenburg, Ernst of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Wolfgang of Anhalt, and fourteen



Imperial cities issued a protest, which earned for them and their adherents the title of 'Protestants.'

The diet and the emperor refused to listen to the protest, and a meeting was held at Schmalkalden to consider the question of armed resistance ; but Luther's strong feeling of obedience to law and order for the moment prevailed, and no overt action was taken. In the following year, 1530, Charles himself was present at a Diet at Augsburg. There Melanchthon worked hard to arrive at a compromise between Catholics and Lutherans. Luther himself did not attend the diet, being still under the ban of the empire, and having little hope of a compromise. Melanchthon, indeed, found that there was some chance of agreement on the question of dogma, but none on the constitution and practices of the Church. The result was the Recess of Augsburg, whereby the Protestants were allowed, till the following April, to decide whether they would return to the Catholic Church. In December the Protestant princes responded by forming the League of Schmalkalden. Luther was won over from the doctrine of passive obedience by 'the argument that the emperor's power was not hereditary but elective, that he was bound by the capitulations made at his election, and that if he broke them he had committed an illegal act, and might therefore be resisted.

Fortune once again turned to the side of the reformers ; the Swiss Cantons refused to help the Zwinglians in Germany ; this forced the south German cities to join the Lutherans. Francis of France was intriguing with the Schmalkaldic League ; Soliman, the Turk, was threatening Hungary ; and the Algerian pirates in the Mediterranean were raiding the sea coast of Italy. Thus, though, in 1531, Charles was able to get his brother Ferdinand elected King of the Romans, he was in no position to lead a crusade against the Lutherans. He was glad to hurry off to meet

the Turks, after making the Peace of Nürnberg in 1532, whereby all proceedings against the Lutherans in the Imperial Chambers were to be suspended until the meeting of a General Council. Thus, for the next seven years, Protestantism was left to grow unmolested.

During these years Luther made Wittenberg his headquarters. In March 1525, he had married a lady, Catherine von Bora, who had been a nun. The marriage was not a love affair, although it ultimately led to much conjugal happiness, but it was the outcome of Luther's earnest desire to settle the question as to what was to become of the monks and nuns who had renounced their vows. The Catholics were, of course, intensely angered. Antichrist, they said, would be the result of such a sacrilegious union. To this Erasmus wittily replied, 'If so there must have been a good many Antichrists born before now.' Luther by now had become a sort of second pope. He had managed to prevent the ultra reformers from sweeping himself and his party aside; he had gained for the Lutherans the alliance of the rulers of the north German states, and he had become the authority for the dogma of the Lutheran Church. Kings and princes wrote to him for his advice. In 1521, King Henry of England had tried to break a lance with him, and the title of Defender of the Faith was a poor reward for the intellectual defeat he suffered at the reformer's hands. The system of Church government as established by Luther admitted of two principles which at times were contradictory, namely, that the congregation should have some voice in the appointment of its ministers, and that the state should also have authority in the matter. He by no means desired that there should be any hard and fast rule for Church service. He thought that the Scriptures should be read with an intelligent exposition, that the *Te Deum* should be sung in the morning and the *Magnificat* in the

evening service, and that there should be hymns. His idea was that worship should be congregational and consist of the homage of the spirit and soul of the worshippers, in contradistinction to the idea of the propitiation of the deity by a priest: in a word, it was to be the ministration of the Word, not the performance of sacerdotal rites. He was no Puritan, for he said he 'would gladly behold all arts, and most of all music, occupying a place in the service of Him from whom they draw their origin, and who has bestowed them on us as a gift.' All the time he could spare from supervising the churches in Saxony and giving advice to those who demanded it, he devoted to the great work of translating the Bible, and to the composition of those hymns which are so well known.

In 1532, the Protestants and Luther suffered a severe loss by the death of John of Saxony. But in spite of the outbreak of the Anabaptists in Münster in 1534, the cause prospered, and, by 1539, the only important Catholic states were Austria, Bavaria, the Palatinate, the duchy of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and the three ecclesiastical electorates, and of these the Palatinate soon fell away. In this year Charles made great efforts to arrive at an understanding with France, whereby he might turn his attention to the religious questions in Germany; but, finding it hopeless, and faced by war, he summoned a Diet at Ratisbon, in 1541, with the purpose of conciliating the Protestants. Pope Paul III. was a sincerely religious man, very different from the two Medicean popes, Leo X. and Clement VII.; he sent a legate to Ratisbon, Cardinal Contarini, the leader of the evangelical party at Rome. Contarini believed as sincerely in salvation by faith as Luther did. It was found that Catholics and Protestants could agree on the nature of man, on original sin, on redemption, and even upon justification; and Bucer and

Melanchthon, who represented the Protestant divines at the diet, were delighted.

But as Ranke, the great historian, wrote, 'What had been resolved at Regensburg required ratification, on the one side from the pope, on the other from Luther.' Paul hesitated. Luther refused to ratify the agreement; he could not trust the pope. Meanwhile, other influences were at work which ruined the compromise. Neither Francis nor the pope could afford to allow Charles to become master of a united Germany. Thus the last chance of reconciliation between the two religious parties failed, and Charles was forced to recognise Lutheranism, in so far that the Recess of Augsburg was again suspended until the meeting of a General Council. Luther was furious that the emperor had not openly declared himself on the side of the Protestants, and from that time forward classed him with the pope. 'To put it in plain German words, they have first to make their own peace with God, openly confessing what kind of business they have made of it in the past: the pope, leading souls in their myriads to destruction for six hundred years; the kaiser, in these last twenty, burning, drowning, murdering pious people, or letting it be done through his edicts.' Luther's action at the Council of Ratisbon was his last political work; he continued working happily at Wittenberg till the beginning of the year 1546. In January of that year, while at Mansfeld, helping to bring about a reconciliation between his friends the counts of that name, he caught a severe chill and died of syncope on January 17th, 1546.

As long as the world lasts and men are concerned with religion, so long will controversy rage round the name of Doctor Martin Luther. For the lovers of the old order will see in him the fell destroyer of much that they hold to be beautiful and true, while his followers will boast of him as the hammer which smashed the bonds which kept men

bound in the foul dungeon of ignorance and superstition, and thus freed for them the way to truth and light. Be that as it may, all must allow that Luther was one of the great makers of the world's history, and that a study of his character cannot but be interesting, for he is one of the very few who have been able to bridle the storm of revolution which he himself raised, and pilot his ship into the haven where he would be. Had it not been for those years when he passed through the fiery ordeal of doubt in the monastery at Erfurt, we may be sure he would not have been able to stand the strain. But with character thus strengthened, with the practical common sense of the German peasant, with profound belief in the doctrine of obedience—save when conscience forbade—with burning zeal for the truth and hatred of sham, with a thorough knowledge of human nature gained as an instructor at the University of Wittenberg, and a deep insight into the art of ecclesiastical administration, derived from his position as Vicar of the Augustinian Eremites, Luther had a preparation for his task very similar to that of Wycliffe, and infinitely superior to that of Huss.

The century which had intervened between the age of Wycliffe and Huss had quickened the influences which were at work on the side of the reformer. The liberal opinions disseminated by the Humanists, the degradation of the Papacy during the great schism, the temporal aspirations of the various popes, the growing greed of the Roman Curia, the impotence of the empire to withstand the papal demands, the lack of spirituality in the Church, the worldliness of its princes, the depravity of the parish priests and the luxury of the monks, had created a situation which only awaited the arrival of a leader. Such then were the causes of Luther's immediate success when he boldly attacked the greatest of the papal abuses.

Having had the courage to open the attack, Luther had



the foresight to perceive that his ultimate chance of success lay in the sympathy of the townsfolk and in the alliance with the princes. It is on this point that he has been most severely criticised. First, because he set his face against the peasant revolt ; and secondly, because of the countenance which he gave to the bigamous marriage of Philip of Hesse. These are two grave indictments, but on the first head we must remember that Luther had seen with his own eyes whither the tenets of the Zwickau brethren led. With his instinctive admiration for authority, when he believed that authority had the sanction of the Scriptures, he could not help shrinking from the anarchy which he saw was bound to follow from democratic and religious doctrines preached by men, who, claiming to be inspired, acknowledged no restraint, not even that of the Scriptures. Whatever the sentimentalist may say, practical men in all ages will decide that he was right. On the other hand, the second indictment cannot easily be refuted. No doubt Luther and Melanchthon could quote numerous instances from the Old Testament to prove that in those ages the Jews, the chosen people, were not bound by the law of monogamy ; but the fact remains that Luther and the other Protestant divines tacitly acknowledged that their advice was more or less that of expediency and contrary to principle, in that they recommended that this second marriage should be kept a secret.

In his family life Luther was affectionate and simple. He was a kind though somewhat irascible husband, subject to fits of great irritation and depression. He was passionately devoted to children, and he loved nothing better than playing with them and telling them fairy tales. Like all German peasants he was grossly superstitious, as far as the devil was concerned. All the little trials of life, all strange and unaccountable noises, all bad attacks of

indigestion and subsequent nightmare, he firmly attributed to the inventive genius of the devil. But he never allowed this superstition to overawe him; for courage was not what he lacked, and, as he said, nothing annoys the devil more than contempt. His friends and his scholars, and all with whom he came in contact, adored him: for he had the divine gift of sympathy, and in the midst of the momentous crises of his life he ever found time to do a good turn to any one who stood in need; often his wife had to lament that there was not a bite in the house nor a thing to pawn, since her husband had given away everything that he possessed.

Compared with Erasmus and Melancthon, Luther had but little scholarship. His was the downright rather coarse mind of the peasant, which does not possess the power of delicate criticism, and which when thwarted tries to crush its opponent by invective and abuse. But he had the faculty of grasping broad issues, and of assimilating and putting into practical form what he had learned. His translation of the Bible ranks in Germany as one of the finest pieces of literature, and is worthy to be compared with the English authorised version. His famous hymn, 'Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott,' is known to all the world. To us, no doubt, his doctrine of predestination seems grim and harsh, but we must remember that Luther's religion was not the dark self-introspection of the Puritan, but a joyful trust in God. He did not regard human delights and pleasures as vain and false, but he saw in them the mercy of God and thankfully enjoyed them. Thus, when overburdened by the care of the churches, he found his recreation in nature. 'I have planted a garden,' he wrote to one of his friends, 'I have built a fountain. Come, and you will be crowned with lilies and roses.'

When the end came he departed peacefully, and his last word was to reply 'yes' to a friend who asked him,

‘ Reverend father, do you remain in the faith of Christ and the doctrine you have preached ? ’ Thus he died as he had lived, and Germany mourned for one who, whatever his faults may have been, had boldly undertaken the task laid on him by his conscience ; and, spurning the terrors of death, had stood forth as the great spiritual prophet of the Reformation.

## PHILIP II

IN the preceding chapter we have seen how, thanks to the indomitable courage of Luther, a certain section of the German people threw off the shackles of the Papacy and developed a religion and a system of Church government which we now always classify as Protestant. We also remember that many of the causes which led to the German Reformation were by no means local but universal; that to some extent they had been responsible for the summoning of the Council of Constance, a century earlier, and that at Rome itself there was a considerable party which was anxious for reform. But the Catholic party which favoured reform was not homogeneous, but divided into two distinct sections. The one, represented by men like Contarini, and, in his early days, Reginald Pole, desiring conciliation with the Protestants, eagerly sought for common grounds on which the old and new ideas might find harmony: the other, while fully as desirous for the reform of abuses, shrank with horror from any interference with what it considered the true dogma of the Catholic Church. As we have seen, Contarini failed in his efforts to arrive at some form of conciliation at Ratisbon in 1541, and his want of success threw discredit on his followers. Five years later—almost immediately after Luther's death—thanks to his temporary accommodation with the Papacy and with France, and to disputes between the Protestant princes, notably the disaffection of Maurice of Saxony, the emperor, Charles

v., was enabled to take up arms against the Schmalkaldic League. The battle of Mühlberg, and the capture of the elector, John of Saxony, virtually brought the war to an end. But even then Charles was not strong enough to stamp out Lutheranism, and was forced to make some slight concessions. Meanwhile, the king of France and the pope viewed with dismay his temporary supremacy in Germany, and, in 1552, Henry of France began to intrigue with the Protestant princes. Maurice of Saxony, disgusted with Charles' lack of good faith, entered into the conspiracy, and, by 1555, the Protestants had once again got the upper hand. A diet was summoned at Augsburg, where it was arranged that the Protestants and Catholics should be equally represented in the Imperial Chamber, and that the maxim, *cujus regio ejus religio*, should be the law of the empire; that is to say, the state religion, of each principality in Germany, should be that of its ruler.

While these events were in progress there had been sitting, more or less continuously from 1545 onwards, a General Council at Trent, a town in German territory to the south of the Brenner Pass. This council had been summoned by the pope, Paul III. (Alessandro Farnese), for the purpose of defining the dogmas of the Catholic Church, and for reforming abuses within the Church itself. The pope had intended that the former should be its chief business, but he had been forced by pressure from the emperor to include the latter, although he was exceedingly afraid lest the council should infringe on his prerogatives. Thanks, however, to the clever management of his legates, he was able to control the council, since they arranged that voting should be by individuals not by nations as at Constance. Hence it was always comparatively easy to gain every important point by flooding the council with Italian bishops. Meanwhile, from the point of view of doctrine, the papal party received strong reinforcement



from the newly formed Society of Jesus. It was due to the scheme of education and subordination instituted by their founder, Ignatius Loyola, that the Jesuits were masters not only of learning but also of intrigue. The position of the Church had further been considerably strengthened by reform from within, the result of the widespread feeling throughout the western world that doctrine should bear on life and conduct. Thus from the Franciscans, the most corrupt of all the older orders in Italy, sprang the reformed order of the Capuchins; and the secular clergy were elevated by fraternities like the Theatines, whose object was by their own example to reform the lives of the parish priests. While the Catholic party was thus gaining strength, in 1542, an engine had been devised for the destruction of its opponents. This was the famous Inquisition. Its organisation was based on that created in Spain, in 1483, by Ferdinand and Isabella. Twelve cardinals were appointed as universal inquisitors. They had the power of delegating their authority, and from the courts thus formed there was no appeal save to the pope. All were subject to the jurisdiction of these courts, which had the power of torture, of imprisonment, of confiscation, and of life and death, and overrode all civil powers in the countries which acquiesced in their jurisdiction. Such was the instrument prepared for heretics.

In spite, therefore, of the victory of the Protestants in Germany, in 1555, it was clear that there would be no toleration for them within the Catholic Church. That body with its new police, the Jesuits, and its new weapon, the Inquisition, was no longer standing on the defensive, but on the eve of entering on a new war for the reconquest of all that it had lost in the preceding thirty years. This campaign we know under the name of the Counter Reformation, and the great figure in the strife is Philip II., King of Spain.

Philip, son of the Emperor Charles v., was born at Valladolid on May 21st, 1527; he was the offspring of the marriage of first cousins, both his parents being grandchildren of Ferdinand and Isabella. His grandmother, Joanna the Mad, had passed a life in melancholy torpor; his father Charles v. was possessed of the gross appetite and heavy passions of the Hapsburgs; his mother Isabella came of the same stock, and was the offspring of generations of consanguineous marriages. Philip therefore inherited a tainted blood, and it was no wonder that the hereditary gloom and religious exaltation of his forebears showed themselves at an early age in his person. The dominating influence in his life was the obsession that he was the chosen instrument of God, a sort of 'junior partner of Providence.' Slow, laborious, with his *Pié de plomo* or leaden foot and indomitable patience, he followed what he considered was his divine mission, expecting no reward, cast down by no failure, seeing in both good fortune and ill fortune the impenetrable wisdom of God. His education and training did nothing to relieve his naturally gloomy and fantastic characteristics. From his earliest days he heard of nought save wars against infidels and heretics. He was surrounded by priests invoking the favour of heaven on his father's arms engaged in destroying the enemies of God. Lacking his father's bodily vigour, ceaselessly reminded of his great destiny, carefully trained to suspect all around him, he grew up crafty, over-cautious and laborious, but destitute of all breadth of vision.

At an early age Charles made the boy his confidant. It was a bad training for such a youth, for the emperor was a master of the arts of dissimulation and of sowing distrust among his subordinates. He wrote to his ten-year old son, warning him against his tutor: 'Siliceo has certainly not been the most fitting teacher for you. He has been too desirous of pleasing you. I hope to God it

was not for his own ends.' The young prince grew up a Spaniard of the Spaniards, and, in spite of his education in Latin, French and Italian, unable to express himself in any language except his own ; but withal grave, punctilious and proud.

In November 1543 Philip was married to his cousin, Maria of Portugal. The bride was his own choice. His father had suggested Margaret, daughter of Francis of France, but allowed Philip to have his way, as part of his policy was to bind Portugal to the interests of Spain. Philip, in spite of his gravity, was boy enough to go out in disguise to meet his future wife, a bright, plump little creature, whose short married life of eleven months was full of happiness on both sides. She died in giving birth to a son, Don Carlos. Philip, broken down by grief at her death, for three weeks shut himself up in a monastery, returning from there to plunge himself into the business of politics, for which he was being so carefully trained by his father. Charles' original aim was to consolidate a religiously united Christendom under a Spanish Caesar. The cession of the Austrian possessions of the Hapsburgs to his brother Ferdinand, in 1521, and the growing importance of that branch of the family, proved that that idea was no longer feasible. He, accordingly, determined to concentrate his efforts on building up for his son Philip a Spanish kingdom which should be composed of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. For this purpose it was necessary to have the friendship of England, because a hostile England threatened the flank of the Netherlands in the event of hostilities with France. Recognising his son's ability and ready absorption of his own ideas, as early as May 1543 he had entrusted him with the regency of Spain ; and in 1546, in pursuance of his scheme, he granted him the vacant dukedom of Milan. Sicily and Naples had for many years been attached to the Spanish crown.

In obedience to his father's commands, in 1548, Philip got ready to make a tour of inspection of his new dominions. But, before he started, Charles compelled him to inaugurate a system which was to prove one of the prime factors in the break-up of the great Spanish monarchy. The idea was to divert the attention of the Spanish nobles from local affairs by tempting them to the court in the position of officers and equerries, and thus to give the crown an opportunity of establishing a centralised despotism, whereby the king should become complete master of the lives and property of his subjects. Philip loathed pomp and ceremony, but his mind was completely attuned to that of his father, and he saw clearly the advantage to be gained by sacrificing his own inclinations. Thus the proud young hidalgos were tempted from an open air life of pleasant usefulness to a meretricious existence of absolute idleness.

It is impossible to conceive the devotion that was felt throughout Spain for the young prince. Andrea Doria, the great Genoese sailor, only voiced this feeling when as he knelt to meet him on his embarking at Rosas he exclaimed, 'Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for his eyes have seen thy salvation.' In Italy also Philip was received with enthusiasm, and the pope thought fit to send a sanctified sword to the son of his old enemy, 'hoping that some day he might behold in him the true champion of the Holy Church.'

From Italy Philip proceeded through the Tyrol, Germany and Luxemburg to Brussels, where, on April 1st, he met his father. He remained there for the next two years, receiving every day two hours' instruction from him in the art of statecraft, of how to balance one great man against another, of how to resist the influence of personal friends; in a word, of how to concentrate everything in his own hands, to supervise personally every detail, and to trust nobody.

These two years were probably the happiest of Charles' life; he saw his son growing up in his own footsteps, imbued with the ideas which he himself cherished, while the complete collapse of the Lutherans after the battle of Mühlberg seemed to portend the disappearance of the heretics. Philip left for Spain, in May 1551, before the disaffection of Maurice of Saxony and the revival of the Schmalkaldic League. He was heartily glad to return home. He hated alike the pomp of his father's court and the drunken orgies of the Flemings. His first business on arriving in Spain was to arrange for his own marriage with Maria of Portugal, aunt of his former wife. With the revolt of the Lutherans this proposed marriage became more desirable than ever, for her dowry would have proved a substantial aid when money was in so much demand. But Ruy Gomez, Philip's only confidant, was unable to persuade the king of Portugal to loosen his purse strings, and in July 1553 an event occurred which completely altered the political situation—Edward VI. of England died and was succeeded by his half-sister Mary, the granddaughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. With her accession there came a Catholic revival in England, and the opportunity of drawing that country into the orbit of Spain.

The emperor's first step was to send an ambassador to England to urge the queen to hold her hand, and to do nothing rash until she had sounded public opinion; the next was to insinuate that in Philip she would find just the husband she desired. 'Do not overpress her,' wrote Granvelle, Charles' secretary, 'to divert her from any other match, because if she has the whim she will carry it forward, if she be like other women.' Meanwhile, Philip was warned of the proposed change. He had contracted domestic arrangements with a certain Doña Isabel de Osorio, but like the dutiful son he was, he wrote: 'I have no other will than that of your Majesty, and whatever you desire



that I will do.' In January 1554, a splendid embassy was sent to London to demand the queen's hand. The city was in a perfect whirlwind of panic, for Noailles, the French ambassador, had for months been fighting against the proposed match, by spreading terrible stories as to what would result from it; how the people would be subjected to the terrible Inquisition, how all confiscated Church property would be reclaimed, and how England would become a mere province of Spain.

On the last point the English Council had views of their own, and when Philip arrived, in July 1554, with magnificent presents for his bride and her ladies, he found himself, after the marriage ceremony in Winchester Cathedral, little better than his wife's usher. On the day of his wedding Charles had created him King of Naples, but this rather irritated than conciliated the populace. 'He had only come,' said the Londoners, 'to beget an heir to the crown, and then he might go—the sooner the better.' Philip expressed the situation to his father in the words, 'The real rulers of this country are not the monarchs but the council.'

As long as Philip remained in England his restraining influence prevented Mary's bigotry, for he was a statesman first, a churchman afterwards, and he saw the inexpediency of startling public opinion by a too sudden attempt to restore the country to the bosom of the Catholic Church. Both he and his chaplains did their best to withstand the fiery zeal of the English bishops, who desired to commence burning the heretics. Charles wrote on the subject, 'If this precipitancy be not moderated affairs will assume a dangerous appearance.' Meanwhile, the queen had fallen deeply in love with her Spanish husband, and he was far too cautious a gentleman to show how little he reciprocated the affection. Time after time Mary fondly hoped she was with child, but, by August 1555, it became clear that the

hope of an heir was vain, and in that month Philip left England. He and his father had to acknowledge that their English policy had been a failure. Six months later Mary set the seal to it by sanctioning the outburst of fury against her Protestant subjects, which to this day entitles her to the epithet of 'Bloody.' The net result of the marriage was that England lost Calais, and that Spain in the long run turned an old friend into a bitter foe.

From England Philip proceeded to the Netherlands to meet his father, who, though but still a comparatively young man, was breaking down beneath the burden of responsibility which he had insisted on bearing on his shoulders. In October Charles resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands in favour of his son, and in January transferred to him the crown of Spain, retaining for himself the nominal title of emperor. Then in the following month (February 1556), after arranging a five years' truce with the king of France, he retired to Spain to the monastery of Juste, where he spent the remaining two years of his life.

Philip now stood alone. He was in a stronger position than his father had ever been, for he was not hampered by the Imperial crown; but, like his father, he was dogged by an absolutely crushing want of funds. From the first he learned how difficult was the task before him. The pope, Paul IV. (Caraffa), a Neapolitan by birth, thought that the abdication of the emperor was his opportunity. 'The French,' he said, 'may be easily dislodged, but the Spaniards are like dog-grass, which seems to strike root wherever it is cast.' He accordingly set himself to tempt the king of France to break the truce he had just signed. Thereon Philip ordered the Duke of Alva, the Governor of Naples, to bring the pope to his knees, while he himself attacked the French from the Netherlands. The campaign in northern France proved successful. In August 1557,

the French were crushed at St. Quentin, and their troops had hurriedly to be recalled from Italy. Nothing stood between Paris and the victorious Spaniards. But Philip hesitated. The opportunity passed, and although the pope deserted his allies the war dragged on for another year, the French gaining some slight successes, including the capture of Calais and Guisnes from the English. Peace was at last made, in April 1559, at Cateau-Cambrésis, on the terms that France was to evacuate Italy, but to retain the three bishoprics of Metz, Verdun and Toul; while Philip became master of Italy, surrendering in his turn all conquests in Picardy. The treaty was to be further cemented by the marriage of Philip (Mary had died in 1558) to Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II. of France, a girl only thirteen years old.

In August 1559, Philip returned to his beloved Spain never again to leave it. His position seemed magnificent. In addition to the crown of Spain, he was King of Sicily and Naples, Duke of Milan, master of Franche Comté and the Netherlands, Lord of the islands of Cape Verde and the Canaries, and of Oran, Tunis, and other places on the north African coast. In the Pacific he owned the Philippines, and save Brazil he claimed all the western coast of America, including the islands of the Gulf of Mexico and the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru. The Spaniards had the reputation of being the richest nation on the face of the earth, and their infantry was supposed to be invincible. But in spite of this seeming omnipotence his position had many vulnerable points.

Spain was no longer the wealthy country she had been. The wars of Charles v. had drained her revenues. Her system of taxation was bad. It depended on the Alcabala, which was a ten per cent tax on the sale of all commodities, and on the Milliones, a like tax on food. These taxes together with the stringent local tolls had steadily

crippled her manufacturing industries. The prestige of the Spanish people was due in no small measure to the feeling of religious exaltation which had been so carefully fostered by Ferdinand and Isabella, and which caused the Spaniards to believe that they were the chosen people of God. But such a fervour was very likely to develop into blind superstition, and, once the spirit was gone, in its place came formalism, followed by stagnation and loss of prestige. Unfortunately, as we shall see, these causes of national decay were hastened by Philip's personality and policy. Further, owing to her great possessions Spain was an object of envy and of dread to the other powers; while, from the geographical position of her territories, she lay open to attack on all sides. Added to this, in the Netherlands Philip was personally unpopular; he was no true Burgundian like his father, but a Spaniard pure and simple. His first step as sovereign had been to propose to divide the three unwieldy bishoprics of the Low Countries into fourteen new dioceses under three archbishops. This involved a great tampering with vested interests. Moreover, his rigorous measures against the heretics were by no means popular in many of the northern provinces. The Flemings also were exceedingly disgusted at his leaving behind him 4000 Spanish troops whom he had not sufficient funds to pay. In addition, his measures, taken with a view to centralise the government, were unpopular, especially with the nobles. Philip was keen enough to put his finger on the real centre of disaffection. As he was about to embark the young Prince of Orange began to blame the states-general; but Philip turned on him with the words, 'No! not the states, but you! you! you!'

In Italy for the moment the thunder cloud had lightened. Paul IV. died almost the day the king left Flanders, being succeeded by Pius IV. (Angelo de' Medici), a much more pliant pontiff. This was fortunate indeed, for Philip,

though he was the most orthodox of Catholics and the most religious of men, had but little respect for the Papacy. The Inquisition in Spain had hitherto been jealously guarded from the pope; it was essentially a royal instrument. The Spanish bishops were appointed regardless of St. Peter, and were the servants of 'God and your Majesty'—the formula which so well expressed Philip's conception of his own place in the universe. It was this attitude not only in Spain, but also in Italy, which had aggravated the bitter enmity between him and the late pontiff. The Church in Spain was in fact a semi-political institution which Philip regarded as a department of the state, especially concerned with keeping order: for in his experience resistance to authority and heresy had been practically synonymous terms. Thus it was that his first public appearance after his return to Spain was at an auto-da-fé at Valladolid, where twelve gentlemen of high birth were burned to death in his presence and that of the court. 'How is it that a gentleman like you can hand over another gentleman such as I am to these friars?' cried out one of the condemned. 'If my son was as perverse as you are I would carry the faggots myself to burn him,' replied the king. As if to emphasise this fact he had allowed Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo, to be arrested by the Inquisition, and for years he resisted all the efforts of the Papacy to free the unfortunate ecclesiastic.

While Philip was thus foreshadowing his domestic policy, and gradually through his secretaries of state gathering all the strings of government into his own hands, abroad important events were following one another in quick succession. Henry II. of France died from an accident at a tournament held to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with Philip. This placed Francis II. with his Queen, Mary Stuart, on the throne. Thereon Elizabeth



of England, endangered by this seeming union of France and Scotland, struck quickly, and the French and Scottish forces were driven to capitulate, early in 1560, at Leith, at the very moment Philip was meeting his young French bride. Elizabeth knew that in this action she would not be opposed by Spain, for Philip would never allow France to conquer England. But a few months later the situation underwent a complete change, for, in December 1560, Francis II. died. Philip had now to deal with two women, Elizabeth of England and Catherine de' Medici, Queen Mother of France. Both these ladies were engaged in the difficult game of balancing the Protestant party against the Catholic; each was faced by a powerful foe—Elizabeth by Mary of Scotland, Catherine by the Duke of Guise. It was obvious therefore that Philip could checkmate any move on the part of either England or France by lending temporary aid either to Mary or to Guise. Thus he considered he had time to enforce religious uniformity and strict obedience within his own dominions before he engaged on his new ambitious policy of rooting out heresy in England, France, and the empire.

While Philip thought he could afford to hold his hand against England and France, he was obliged to take immediate steps to secure his position in the Mediterranean. The Moslems and the Barbary pirates were harrying the coasts of Sicily, Naples and Spain. Already Tripoli, the African stronghold of the knights of Malta, had fallen. What was needed was a short sharp blow. But this was just the thing that Philip's system of administration rendered impossible: by the time the details had been arranged in his cabinet, had been sent to his admirals, Medina Celi and Gian Doria, had been referred back again for further instructions, a year passed by. The pirates had ample knowledge of the expedition, and time to oppose it with superior force. Panic seized the Spanish

fleet; 5000 men and 65 vessels surrendered. However, 8000 soldiers and sailors held out on the island of Los Gelves off the coast of Tripoli, and made amends for this disgrace; for, when after six weeks' siege the pirates assaulted the position only 1000 men were left alive, and these all died fighting in the breach. For eleven years the pirates held the Mediterranean: in 1565 Malta all but fell. The blight of Philip's rule had so paralysed the Spanish system of administration that the relieving fleet only arrived just as the island was on the point of surrender. Yet, when the disastrous news was told to Philip he showed no sign of despair; just as later, after the victory of Lepanto, he showed no elation. It was part of the mysterious plans of God, and he who was fighting God's battles was sure to win in the end.

In Spain itself Philip pursued his relentless policy, which, we must remember, was in no way distasteful to the majority of his subjects. The struggle with the Moslem and the Barbary pirates, not unnaturally, turned public attention to the Moriscoes, or semi-Christianised Moors who inhabited Andalusia. With the double object of compelling them to become better Catholics and of preventing them from helping the enemy, several edicts were issued against them between 1560-1567. The first was to forbid the importation of negro slaves on the ground that the number of infidels was thus constantly increased: the next ordinance prohibited the possession of arms without a licence from the captain-general: then followed a succession of edicts denouncing national dances, ordering the women to appear unveiled, insisting on Christian weddings, and forbidding baths on the ground of licentiousness. The net result was that all the most cherished customs of the Moriscoes were attacked, and the duty of enforcing these ordinances was entrusted to the Inquisition. As might have been expected, a revolt broke out. The

Moriscoes elected as their king Aben-Humeya, a scion of their ancient royal house, and for eighteen months the insurrection lasted. If the conciliatory advice of the Marquis de Mondejar had been accepted the rebellion would probably have been speedily quelled, for the Turks were too much occupied in Cyprus to assist the Moriscoes. But Diego Deza, auditor of the holy office, gained the day. A war of cruel reprisals ensued, and was only brought to an end, in May 1569, after a large force had been mobilised and placed under the command of Don John, the king's half-brother. The terms offered to the rebels were hard, but there was nothing for it but to accept them ; and the whole Moorish population was transferred from the warm valleys and plains of Andalusia to the wind-swept uplands of Castile, Estremadura and Galicia.

While the war with the Moriscoes had not yet ended, a messenger arrived from Pope Pius v. praying for help against the Moslems. The Turks were concentrating their efforts against Cyprus : Venice was in despair at the probable capture of that island, and the danger seemed really to threaten all Christian powers on the Mediterranean. This crisis was partly due to the fact that the Christians had often for political purposes allied themselves with the Moslems. But Philip had never been guilty of such inconsistency. As usual he moved slowly, and it was not till May 1571, that a league was formed of Venice, the pope, and Spain with the object of making a perpetual alliance against the Turks and the Moors of Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers. The treaty came too late to save Cyprus, for on July 30th Famagusta fell and Bragadino, its commander, was flayed alive, his skin being sent to Constantinople as a trophy. However, by October the allied fleet took the sea, and located the enemy in the Gulf of Lepanto or Corinth. The Christian fleet under Don John was composed of 264 vessels of all sizes with

29,000 soldiers and 50,000 sailors and rowers, while the Turks had 300 vessels and 120,000 men. Doria and the other commanders under Don John were afraid of attacking in the open the Moslems, hitherto unbeaten at sea. But Don John was full of fervour and zeal at the thought of leading the hosts of Christ against the infidel. His burning enthusiasm was contagious, and as he rowed round the fleet exhorting his men with the words—‘Christ is your general! The hour of vengeance has come! You are come to fight the battle of the Cross, to conquer or to die!’—men felt they were engaged in a holy mission. Though the seamanship of Doria and of Santa Cruz did much to help, the result was in no small manner due to Don John’s personality. It was a magnificent victory; after a few hours’ fight only 50 of the enemy’s ships escaped, and 12,000 Christian galley-slaves were recaptured.

Philip received the glorious news when at vespers, read the despatch, but said nothing until service was over. Such was his self-control and his firm belief in the part which he played under Providence. It was well that he had thus suppressed all passion, for he had but lately been tried to the uttermost. In October 1568, his beloved wife Elizabeth died, leaving two little girls; but this was not the only misfortune he had been called upon to bear in that year. His only son Don Carlos had grown up a lame, stunted, uncontrollable, nervous epileptic, who attempted on one occasion to murder Cardinal Espinosa, and on another to put an end to the Duke of Alva. The mad prince threatened his uncle Don John, and made attacks on inoffensive citizens in the streets. He openly mocked and derided his father, and ultimately absolutely refused to obey him. In the end, in January 1568, there was nothing for it but to arrest the lunatic. ‘It was not a punishment,’ wrote Philip to his aunt; ‘if it was, there would be some limit to it; but I never hope to see my

son restored to his right mind again. I have chosen in this manner to make a sacrifice to God of my own flesh and blood, preferring His service and the universal good to all other human considerations.' There followed some sort of investigation by the king's counsellors, but from the day of his arrest the prince was never seen in public again, and nobody can say whether he was strangled by his father's order, or died a natural death from the effects of disease.

We have seen how, in 1559, Philip left the Netherlands bitterly discontented; and how, owing to lack of money, he was unable to withdraw the 4000 Spanish troops. His sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, had been appointed governess of the country, and her chief adviser was Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, obnoxious as a foreigner and also on account of his ostentation. Even when the troops had been withdrawn irritation remained. The nobles resented the government of Granvelle, and the people at large were disgusted by heavy taxation. Further, the Catholic party was displeased with the reorganisation of the dioceses, and the Protestants were daily becoming stronger in the northern provinces, and even in Hainault on the French frontier. Philip urged his sister to severity against the heretics, but the only result was that the people of Valenciennes broke open the prisons and released them. By 1563 the situation became impossible. Led by Egmont and Horn the nobles banded themselves together to secure the overthrow of Granvelle and demanded a meeting of the states-general. The king had for the moment to bow to the storm; but he had no intention of giving up his scheme of governing the Netherlands as a Spanish province, and while soothing Egmont with fair words he made his preparations, and sent strict orders to Margaret that nothing was to be changed. Meanwhile, thousands of industrious Flemish merchants and weavers were emigrating to England, but this in Philip's opinion



was no great loss ; it only left fewer heretics for him to deal with in the Netherlands. Margaret wrote to him that to fulfil his orders would mean the casting of 60,000 to 70,000 heretics into the flames. When Philip at last took the trouble to reply he asked her, ' Why all these disquietudes ? Are not my instructions understood ? Is it believed that I have any intentions other than the service of God and the good of the states ? '

It was the Inquisition which brought matters to a head. So far the resistance had been mainly constitutional on the part of the nobles, who disliked the centralisation of the Spanish system of government. But now the bourgeoisie stood shoulder to shoulder with the nobles, swearing that no more of their brethren should be burned by the Papists. A confederation was formed, early in 1566, under the leadership of Louis of Nassau (William of Orange's brother), Henry Viscount of Brederode, Philip of Marnix, lord of St. Aldegonde, and Nicolas de Hames. They petitioned the regent to suspend the Inquisition and to summon the states-general. Amid the wordy warfare that ensued the party became labelled with the nickname of ' The Beggars '—a name to be revered by all patriotic Dutchmen. When Philip heard of these events he saw that Margaret must be superseded, and sent in her place the famous Duke of Alva, vowing that, ' before allowing any backsliding in religion or in the service of God, I will lose all my dominions and a hundred lives if I had them, for I will never be a ruler of heretics.'

Alva's government of the Netherlands lasted from 1567 to 1573. It was marked by such measures against heretics as must have warmed Philip's heart. Egmont and Horn were enticed by fair promises, arrested, tried by a packed bench of judges, and executed. But, though the southern provinces were crushed and remained for ever Catholic, the northern provinces, thanks to the leadership of William

of Orange and the judicious, though always scanty help of Elizabeth of England, shook off the Spanish rule, and established for themselves a national Protestant government. The siege of Haarlem (December 9th, 1572 to July 14th, 1573) taught Philip that his system had failed, for though he had gained the town he had not crushed the Protestant cause, and his troops broke into mutiny for lack of pay. Accordingly, in November 1573, he recalled Alva, who had earned the detestation of ' Catholics as well as Protestants, of the clergy as well as the laity,' and he sent in his place Don Louis de Requesens, with orders to try and win back the Netherlands by conciliatory measures. It was too late. When the new governor offered terms to the town of Leyden he was met with the cry, ' Rather Turks than Papists, better be drowned than taken.' So the Dutch provinces completely broke with the Spanish rule ; thanks, however, to the pacific measures of de Requesens and to the preponderance of Catholics the Flemish provinces were saved. But the difficulties he had to overcome were so great that the strain killed de Requesens, who died in despair in 1576. Meanwhile, the Spanish troops had not been paid for months, and had become mere plundering bands of robbers.

To meet this situation Philip's half-brother, Don John, the new governor, was hurriedly despatched over land, through France, disguised as a Moorish slave. During the interregnum, on November 4th, 1576, the mutineers fell on Antwerp, butchered some 6000 unfortunate inhabitants, and stole property to the extent of 6,000,000 ducats. This massacre, known as the ' Spanish Fury,' sealed the downfall of Spain in the Netherlands. Delegates from all the provinces met at Ghent, and a treaty or pacification was made, whereby it was agreed that the Spaniards should at all hazards be expelled from the Netherlands. So Don John met with but little more fortune than his predecessor.

He complicated the situation by intriguing with the malcontents in England, and by deserting the principle of conciliation. Philip was furious with his headstrong half-brother, and not only stopped supplies, but compounded with the Flemish behind his back. So strained had the situation become that when, in October 1578, Don John died of fever, men whispered that he was another victim of Philip's poisoners. His death allowed Philip to appoint the Duke of Parma as regent in the Netherlands.

During the whole of the struggle between Spain and the Netherlands England had nominally stood aloof. But from the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, English sailors had freely plundered the Spanish treasure-ships, and in reality English money and English soldiers had done much to secure the independence which the Dutch provinces gained for themselves under the leadership of William of Orange. At the commencement of his reign Philip, following the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella, had aimed at preventing England from falling into the French orbit. Even after Mary Stuart had surrendered to Elizabeth, in 1568, while assenting to the insurrection of the northern earls and to the Ridolfi plot, Philip was annoyed with the papal Bull of Excommunication which, in 1570, the pope hurled against Elizabeth. He was afraid that it might anger the nation and drive the queen into the arms of the French, for at the moment the Huguenots seemed to be in the ascendant, and the massacres of Saint Bartholomew had not yet crushed them. Thus, in spite of his advisers, Philip refused to strike openly at Elizabeth; and she on her side, while going so far as to retain his treasure-ships when they put into her harbours on their way to the Netherlands, refused for long to give any open aid to the Dutch. In 1575, she declined the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, contenting herself with doling out

her help in just sufficient quantity to prevent Orange from throwing himself into the arms of France.

Philip meanwhile was biding his time. He had no desire to find himself engaged in open war with England, until he had settled the problem of the Netherlands, and made his position absolutely safe in the Iberian Peninsula. In spite of all affronts, therefore, he held his hand. In August 1578, his patience was rewarded, for Sebastian, King of Portugal, died, and was succeeded by the childless old Cardinal Henry, who only reigned a bare two years. There was no available successor save Dom Antonio, an illegitimate grandson of King Manoel, Sebastian's father. The moment had come for which Philip had long waited. The Duke of Alva was despatched to drive the pretender out of the country, and at Thomar, on April 3rd, 1581, Philip was acclaimed King of Portugal. But in spite of this great success, he returned from Portugal a broken man: he had been attacked at Badajoz on his march into Portugal by influenza: his devoted wife prayed that his life might be spared even at the cost of her own. Her prayer was heard; Philip recovered and she died. The shock aged him prematurely, and his yellow beard turned nearly white.

France and England looked with mistrust on this great accession of commercial and colonial strength to Spain. Dom Antonio was favourably received by Elizabeth and by Catherine. A plan was mooted whereby the Duke of Alençon should marry Elizabeth and receive the sovereignty of the Netherlands. This coalition of the Huguenot party with the Protestant Queen of England threw the Guises into Philip's arms. Immediately a plot was set on foot for Mary Stuart to send her son James to Spain to marry a Spanish princess. But Walsingham's spies soon had full information of the various schemes. The three parties, Philip, James, and the Guises, had all

opposing interests. Philip wanted to recover England for himself; James desired to be independent of any foreign power; and the Guises sought to control a puppet sovereign in their own interests.

From 1583 onwards, Philip carefully provoked religious disturbances in France, which prevented the Huguenots from helping Elizabeth or the Guises from aiding their kinsman James. Meanwhile, he cajoled the pope into promising a subsidy of one million gold crowns to assist him in conquering England; but no mention was made of the fact that the English crown was to go to Philip. Communications were opened up with Mary, who promised to disinherit James in favour of Philip, and the Babington plot was devised, whereby Elizabeth was to be put out of the way either by poison or steel. Philip acquiesced. 'The plan,' he wrote, 'is so much of God's service that it certainly deserves to be supported, and we must hope that the Lord will prosper it, unless our sins be an impediment thereto'; adding that he would fulfil his part 'as soon as the principal execution is effected. Above all, that should be done quickly.' But swiftness and secrecy were just what Philip's cumbersome system of centralisation and supervision rendered absolutely impossible, and Walsingham's heavy hand descended before the plot was ripe.

In spite of the failure of the Babington plot, Philip never swerved from the principle he had now laid down of a direct invasion of England, and he set to work to prepare his fleet. Santa Cruz, his great admiral, sketched out a plan which depended on the possession of a port of refuge either in the North Sea or in the Channel. Such a base was offered by the Scottish lords. But the offer was rejected because it came through Guise, and by the time other arrangements had been made the plot was made known to Elizabeth. Accordingly, in April 1587, Drake appeared off Cadiz and burned the dockyard. If he had



only gone on to Lisbon he could have destroyed the whole of the Armada. As a further counterstroke, Queen Mary was beheaded. Still Philip clung tenaciously to his scheme. In spite of the death of Santa Cruz and the impossibility of gaining a port in either England or Scotland, the Armada, after a first rebuff from a storm, put out to sea on July 22nd, 1588, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, an incompetent landsman without even the virtue of bravery. Its orders were to push up the English Channel, to seize Margate, and then to join hands with the Duke of Parma. The unfortunate fleet was as badly equipped and manned as the expedition was faultily designed, and thanks to English seamanship and gunnery, and to the bad weather, its failure was complete. Of the 197 sail which left the ports of Spain only 65 battered ships returned, and of the 24,000 men who sailed full of the hope of victory only some 10,000 dejected, starved creatures came home. *Afflavit Deus et dissipati sunt.*

The defeat of the Armada rudely tore aside the curtain of Spanish prestige, and revealed instead of a brazen colossus a figure of lath and plaster. But while it thus showed to the world the weakness of the Spanish empire, its effects on the Spaniards themselves were even more disastrous. Philip no doubt still clung to his faith. 'It is Thy cause, O Lord,' he prayed; 'if in Thy wisdom defeat is best, then Thy will be done.' But the Spanish people, like the sailors of the Armada in the fight in the Channel, now raised the mournful cry, 'God has forsaken us.' The esprit de corps, so strongly fostered by the sentiment that they were the chosen people of God, the favoured nation, the interpreter of the Most High and His particular instrument, was now gone. Soon also the discovery was made that though the gold of the new world flowed into their country, still it left them an impoverished people, with ruined manufactures and half-deserted towns.

Such was the prospect which faced Philip at home. Abroad the clouds were blacker still. England and the Dutch provinces were lost for ever. It was questionable whether the Flemish provinces would not also break away. The pope was openly contemptuous, and refused to pay any of the promised subsidy. In France a more pressing danger was imminent. In December 1588, Henry III. mustered up courage and had the Duke of Guise assassinated. The Huguenot flag was once more in the ascendant; and, worse still, the heir to the French crown was Henry of Navarre, the most capable man in France, and a Huguenot. Added to all this, Philip had found out that his trusted counsellor Perez had played him false. He ordered him to be arrested, but Perez escaped to Aragon, taking with him a vast accumulation of most secret papers. Once in Aragon the ex-minister was safe, for by the 'Manifestacion,' one of the Aragonese liberties, any person accused of crime could be lodged in the Aragonese prison, and thus escape torture and gain the benefit of an enlightened judicial procedure. When the king's emissaries tried to take Perez away by force from the monastery of Calatayud, the crowd rose in arms and rescued him, and lodged him in the jail of the 'Manifestacion.' There was nothing for it but to proceed against him by Aragonese law. Perez drew up a most masterly defence, painting Philip in the blackest colours. Philip replied that he could not refute him 'without betraying secrets which must not be revealed.' Accordingly, he was acquitted, and ultimately smuggled out of the country to sell Philip's secrets to France and England. Philip meanwhile bided his time, then suddenly, in December 1591, despatched to Aragon 15,000 men under Alonso de Vargas, one of the butchers of Antwerp, and executed summary vengeance on those who had opposed him.

The murder of the Duke of Guise was not long un-

avenged, for, in August of 1589, Henry III. fell beneath the knife of the 'Leaguers.' The dreaded event had arrived, and Henry IV. was rightful King of France. In March of the following year came his victory at Ivry, and it seemed as if a Huguenot was soon to reign in Paris. Meanwhile, Drake was preparing a fleet to attack Lisbon in the interest of Dom Antonio, and it was not until the failure of this expedition that Philip could turn his attention to France. His plan was to lay aside the Salic Law and to proclaim his daughter by Elizabeth Queen of France. The task of conquering the country was to be entrusted to Alessandro Farnese (Duke of Parma), with 13,000 good Spanish infantry. The skill of the Duke of Parma soon brought good fortune to the league; but the idea of a France reigned over by a Spanish queen, dependent on Philip, was repugnant to the French mind. Moreover, when Philip tried to conquer Brittany and aid the league he brought Elizabeth of England into the field. So the struggle swayed backwards and forwards for three years, until Henry of Navarre hardened his heart, took the mortal leap, and, in July 1593, bought Paris for a Mass.

Henry's conversion to Catholicism was the death knell of Philip's last scheme for the aggrandisement of Spain. Only once again did he interfere in foreign politics, when, against his better judgment, he sent aid to the rebels under Tyrone in Ireland. This, in 1596, brought down on his head a great English fleet, under Lord Howard and the Earl of Essex, which attacked Cadiz and burned the arsenal there and all the ships in the harbour, and after sacking the city left it a smoking heap of ruins. Medina Sidonia wrote to Philip, 'Neither ship nor fleet nor Cadiz remains': so low had Philip's system brought his country. Yet the weary old king, racked with bodily agony, never lost faith in his divine mission. 'Thy will, O God, be

done, not mine,' was constantly on his lips, and he still looked forward to the future.

The end came in the summer of 1598. By then his body was a mass of malignant tumours. So tender was his skin that he could not endure any covering. For fifty-three days he lay in his magnificent palace of the Escorial without a change of clothing or the proper cleansing of his sores. Night and day the propitiatory offices of the Church were performed around him, and he clung to the same coarse crucifix which his dying father had grasped. A fortnight before his death he had a private interview with his successor. 'I meant to save you this scene,' he said to him, 'but I wish you to see how the monarchies of the earth end. You see that God has denuded me of all the glory and majesty of a monarch in order to hand them to you. . . . Two things I especially commend to you: one is that you keep always faithful to the Holy Catholic Church, and the other that you treat your subjects justly.' For thirteen days longer the unfortunate monarch lingered, bearing the excruciating agony without a murmur, joyfully looking forward to his release. At last, with a holy taper in his hand, listening, just above the altar, to the shrill voices of the choristers chanting the early Mass, he passed away on the morning of September 13th. His body lies still in the awful jasper charnel-house at the Escorial, in a coffin made out of the timbers of the *Cinco Chagas*, one of the galleons he had built to fight the heretics; and his hands still clasp the rude crucifix which consoled his dying hours and those of his father, the great Emperor Charles v.

To the Spaniards of later generations Philip, the Prudent, has ever been a hero, for he embodied all the narrow, rigid religious views, the patient dignity and the sombre pride which are so characteristic of the race. To the historian he affords the melancholy example of a man

born out of his time ; of a religious mystic, obsessed by the idea that he was the divine instrument in the hands of God ; of a man of limited intelligence forced to play the part of a statesman. This estimate alone explains the course of his policy, and that system of centralisation which did so much to defeat the objects at which he aimed. Taught by his father to distrust all men, to balance one party against another, ever to inquire into the motives of his friends and his servants, he gradually built up a system whereby every detail of government passed beneath his own eye. Neither Ruy Gomez, gentle, conciliatory, modest and diplomatic, nor the Duke of Alva, haughty and intolerant, ever really swayed the king. Every state document, from the report of an ambassador to the minutes of some petty village official, had to be passed on by his secretaries for him to scan and make notes on. The reply, after it had been drafted, had to undergo the same process. In the execution of his schemes he was convinced that all means were lawful to the end. The proposed assassination of Elizabeth, of Dom Antonio, of the Prince of Orange or of his servant Perez, the putting out of the way of his imbecile son Don Carlos or his half-brother Don John, were discussed calmly as matters of business. No question of morality was allowed to clog the machinery of government ; all feeling of humanity was set aside. But while intolerant of all advice, overruling alike Cortes, Inquisition, and papal decrees, Philip trembled before the monks. His confessor ruled him with a rod of iron ; on occasions he refused him absolution, and told him, ' I am certain that your Majesty is in a more perilous condition than any other Catholic Christian living.' Thereon the king would yield in the most abject way even in matters of high policy. Hence, while possessed by the idea that he was ruling Spain for the glory of God, he was really ruining her for the sake of the monks. In the place of religious



enthusiasm he substituted a cold formalism ; learning died ; manners gradually became debauched ; and in spite of his stern decrees, luxury and ostentation increased. So absorbed was he in his devotions and office work that soon his courtiers lost their terror of him, and became noted for their undisciplined idleness and dissoluteness of character. The women of Spain from previously being modest and retiring became notorious for their scandalous freedom and intrigues. Meanwhile, as the king grew older, matters became worse and worse ; the mass of business increased, and he lost his sense of proportion. While the fate of the empire was hanging in the balance he would waste precious hours in working out the details of some religious procession, or ponder over the trifling request of some private subject. Thus it was that the English sailors were enabled with impunity to harry the treasure fleets of Spain, to destroy her settlements in the new world, while Philip, in spite of protests of the better missionaries, was working out plans to convert the poor Indians to Christianity by the fiery ordeal of the stake.

It is as the leader of the Counter Reformation, the most Catholic king, that we must judge him. In spite of the massacres in the Netherlands and the holocausts of the Inquisition he was no blood-thirsty tyrant. He struck, as he believed, for Christ, not for his own power or for the delight of exercising his own will. As a man he was kind and tender-hearted. His four successive wives all adored him. He was devoted to his children, and could always find time to write to them or to visit them. He loved beautiful things, masterpieces of art or flowers. Like his father he was a friend of Titian and a great patron of painters and sculptors. His favourite palace of the Escorial, built to his own designs, represents his character. Outside, its great grey granite walls have a gloom which well matched his spirit ; but inside, in places, it is relieved

by exquisite works of sumptuous painting and of the lapidary's art, as if in spite of its apparent aspirations some touches of nature could not be suppressed. So it was with Philip. Kindly by nature, he considered himself forced to become the unbending agent of a divine providence.

## GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

IT was a dictum of the great Napoleon that in war men are nothing, but a man is everything ; this axiom is probably as true of politics as it is of war. Like chemical compounds, great ideas and revolutions in thought may hang for years in solution, awaiting the moment until the arrival of some force which brings about their crystallisation. So it was in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The Catholic and the Protestant powers were in a state of flux. To the men of that day it seemed that the Counter Reformation might absorb or drive out the Protestant religion from Europe. But the victories of the armies of the King of Sweden in Germany, in the years 1630-1632, changed the whole situation ; the flood tide of the Counter Reformation was once and for all hurled back ; Protestantism was saved, and the line of demarcation then established between the two religions has remained fixed, with but little alteration, to the present time. The life of Gustavus Adolphus is the history of the making of the Swedish nation and the consolidation of Protestantism in Europe.

From the days of the Vikings until the middle of the seventeenth century Sweden had played but a small part in European politics. The country was poor in natural resources, frost-bound half the year, containing a population of barely a million and a half rude uncivilised peasants. Always inferior to her neighbours Norway and Denmark, she had too often been a prey to both ; indeed, for a

hundred years after the Union of Kalmar, 1387, when the crowns of Denmark, Norway and Sweden had been placed on the head of Queen Margaret, 'The Union Queen,' Sweden had been a mere province of Denmark. There followed some forty years during which a patriotic party of nobles attempted to re-establish the independence of their country. This transition period ended in 1520, when Christian II. at one fell swoop executed some six hundred Swedish nobles at the 'Bloody Bath of Stockholm.' This cruelty had its due reward. One of the nobles who escaped execution was Gustavus Vasa, the founder of Sweden's line of heroic kings. Round this great patriot nobles and peasants alike rallied. In 1523, he assumed the crown of Sweden, and from that day till his death, in 1560, he laboured to restore the kingdom. With keen political sense he saw how the Reformation might be used to strengthen the country by enriching the crown and binding the nobles to his dynasty by grants of Church lands; how, while conciliating the nobles, he must not make them too strong, but seek for the foundations of his throne in the loyalty of the peasants.

Gustavus Vasa was succeeded by his sons Eric XIV., one of Elizabeth Tudor's many suitors, and John. John married Catherine Jagellon, the heiress of the Polish kings. The offspring of this marriage, Sigismund, became a Roman Catholic, and was elected, in 1587, King of Poland.

In Poland Sigismund laboured most effectually to restore the Catholic religion. But when, in 1592, he succeeded to the Swedish crown, he found himself opposed by the nobles, who were afraid that they might be dispossessed of their Church lands, and by the peasantry, who resented the interference of the pope in their country. After a tempestuous reign of ten years Sigismund was ousted from the Swedish throne by his uncle Charles IX., the youngest son of the great Vasa. Thus, for the second time,

religion became the pivot of Swedish politics, and noble and peasant alike felt that the independence of their country was bound up in the maintenance of the Lutheran faith.

Meanwhile, under the care of the Vasa kings the mineral resources of the country had been developed; education and civilisation had made great progress; and the peasantry had become a political force. But the country was not yet assured of its existence. It was still at the mercy of its neighbours. Denmark, its hereditary foe, held the southern part of the peninsula, and Sweden had only one port on the North Sea, Gottenborg, at the mouth of the Gotta. Thus the greater part of her commerce lay at the mercy of the Danes, who held both sides of the sound. In the Baltic she was faced by the now hostile country of Poland, whose king, Sigismund, claimed the Swedish crown, and who by marriage was twice related to the Hapsburgs, the leaders of the Counter Reformation. The semi-barbarous power of Russia was also hostile, for under Eric and Charles, Sweden had seized the Russian lands of Esthonia and Livonia. Lastly, the great cities of the Hanseatic League, Lübeck and Dantzic, were jealous of the appearance of a new commercial rival. Such was the situation when, in 1611, Charles died, and was succeeded by his son, the famous Gustavus Adolphus, then in his seventeenth year.

Gustavus Adolphus was born on December 9th, 1594. His father, as we have said, was the son of the Great Vasa, and his mother was Christina of Schleswig-Holstein, granddaughter of Luther's friend, Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse. His education was entrusted by his father to a Swedish noble, John Skytte, thanks to whose care 'he spoke Latin, Dutch, French and Italian just as if he was born to them, understood Spanish, English and Scotch, and had also a smattering of Polish and Muscovite.' A zealous student of the Bible, he did not neglect letters, and



he had also a taste for poetry, music and oratory. His military education was supervised by the Count de la Gardie, a Swedish noble of French descent ; but Gustavus himself supplemented it by the study of Xenophon and of Grotius, whose treatise *De Jure Belli et Pacis* he always carried about in his pocket. Charles himself supervised his political education ; at nine the young prince began to attend the sessions of the Råd ; at thirteen to receive ambassadors ; and by fifteen he was practically co-regent with his father.

Very different was the personal advice which Gustavus Adolphus received from his father from that which Philip II. learned from the Emperor Charles V. For the Swedish king bade his son, ' Before all things fear God, honour thy father and mother, be tender to thy sisters, love those who served me faithfully, reward them according to their deserts, be gracious to thy subjects, punish evil, trust all men fairly, but only entirely when thou hast learnt to know them.' Very different also was Gustavus' character from that of Philip, for the Lion of the North was open-hearted, frank and fearless, a man of high ideals and of action, and a born leader. Yet both alike had in common the earnest desire to fulfil their destiny, for, as a contemporary said of Gustavus, ' He seems more occupied in making his kingdom than with the ordinary pleasures of youth.' A Dutch ambassador has left us an account of how he looked at the time of his accession. ' His Majesty stood before his throne to receive us with head uncovered, dressed in satin trimmed with black fur, with a black silk cloak over his shoulder . . . he is slender of figure, well set up, with rather a pale complexion, a long-shaped face, fair hair, and a pointed beard, which here and there runs into a tawny colour ; and according to all reports he is a man of high courage, though not revengeful ; keen intellect, watchful, active ; an excellent speaker and courteous in

his intercourse with all men ; from a youth of such promise great things are to be expected.'

At the moment Gustavus ascended the throne, Sweden was in the throes of one of her constant conflicts with Denmark. In the preceding April Christian of Denmark, thinking he saw an opportunity to conquer the country, had seized the excuse of the foundation of the port of Gottenborg, and of the Swedish restrictions of trade with their new port of Riga, to declare war. He had been so far successful as to seize Gottenborg and the great fortress of Kalmar, which guarded the Swedish frontier on the Baltic side of the peninsula. For two years a most bitter struggle ensued, during which Gustavus all but lost his life by falling, horse and all, through the ice on the lake of Widojö. But, thanks to the personal affection of the Dalecarlian peasants, the young king was able to prevent the Danes gaining further ground. The long struggle became unpopular in Denmark, and ultimately through the mediation of James I. of England the peace of Knäröd was signed in January 1613. Sweden acquiesced in Denmark continuing to bear the three crowns on her standards ' without thereby raising any claim on Sweden,' and promised to pay her a war indemnity of one million thalers (a thaler is about 3s. 6d.) within six years. Denmark was to restore Kalmar to Sweden at once, but retain Elsborg and the other towns round the Gota, and seven counties in Västergötland, until the indemnity was paid. Within two years the money was actually handed over, and the territory once again in Swedish hands ; for Gustavus and his people recognised that a heavy poll tax, the sacrifice of thirty per cent of the revenue and the coining of all the royal plate, was not an undue sacrifice for such an end. Thus in two years' time Gustavus was able to concentrate all his attention on the Baltic, where, with true instinct, he saw lay the future of his country.

Fortunately his cousin, Sigismund of Poland, was in no position to attempt to reassert his claim to the Swedish crown. An uneasy truce existed between them till the year 1617, both kings being occupied in endeavouring to get what advantage they could out of the anarchy which existed in Russia. Sigismund dreamed of a Russian crown, but Gustavus was busy with the practical task of turning Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria and Carelia into an effectual bulwark against Russia. He had further schemes for the absorption of western Russia, but they came to nought; for the Russian national revival, in 1613, under the new tsar, Michael, the founder of the Romanoff line, checked the victorious advance of the Swedish army under de la Gardie. Soon afterwards the unruly behaviour of the Scots and Germans despatched, after the Peace of Knäröd, to support de la Gardie, called for the presence of Gustavus himself at the seat of war. Consequently, after holding a diet in January 1614, when he remedied one of the greatest defects of his government by the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature, the king hurried off to the seat of war. After a successful summer campaign in co-operation with de la Gardie, he drove back the invaders, returning in triumph to Sweden. But in spite of his success the Russians refused to acknowledge themselves beaten, and in the following year he was once again obliged to return to the field. But, by now, both sides were desirous of peace, and when England offered her good offices a truce was arranged, and, in February 1617, the Peace of Stolbova was signed. Sweden recognised Michael Romanoff as tsar and surrendered Novgorod, but was confirmed in her possession of Ingria, Esthonia and Livonia. 'Now,' said Gustavus, on his return, to the estates of Sweden, 'this enemy cannot launch a boat on the Baltic without our permission. The great lakes of Ladoga and Peipus,

thirty miles of morasses and great fortresses, are enough to keep him off from us. I hope in God's name he will find this brook a tough one to jump over.' Thus the ground, whereon the Russian capital, St. Petersburg, now stands, became Swedish soil.

It was a saying of Gustavus that, 'All wars in Europe hang together,' and nothing better exemplifies this than the years that followed the Peace of Stolbova. For scarcely had that peace been signed before Sweden found her newly acquired territory in Livonia attacked by Poland. There followed the two campaigns of 1617-1618, in which these provinces proved that they could well defend themselves from the Poles, and, in 1618, Sigismund was glad to conclude an armistice which lasted till July 1621. It was not the actual war, but the inner meaning of the war which was so vital to the interests of Sweden, for the Polish attack was the forerunner of a Jesuit-Hapsburg crusade against the Protestant powers of the north. Sigismund's movement had indeed been premature, but the approaching accession to the Imperial throne of Ferdinand of Styria, the ardent Catholic proselytiser, foreshadowed a bitter struggle all over Europe between Protestantism and Catholicism. The long contest actually began in 1618, when the Bohemians deposed Ferdinand and elected as king Frederic iv., the elector palatine, son-in-law of James i. of England. For the moment the struggle was a personal one between the palatinate house of Wittelsbach and the house of Hapsburg. But in 1619, on the death of his uncle Mathias, Ferdinand was elected emperor, owing to the lack of union between the Calvinists and Lutherans, and all the Protestant states found themselves threatened. For Ferdinand II., partly from desire, partly by force of circumstances, determined to insist on the restoration of all secularised lands to the Catholic Church; in fact, to tear up the treaty of Augsburg.

Thus the struggle tended to become a religious war between the rival creeds ; further by the interference of Spain on behalf of the Hapsburgs, and of England on behalf of the elector palatinate, it also threatened to become a universal conflict.

In view of this possible conflagration it was obviously the wisest policy for the Protestant states of the north to form an offensive and defensive alliance. But at the moment the danger was not pressing enough to obliterate old enmities. Denmark still longed to absorb Sweden. Holland was jealous of the growth of Swedish commerce in the Baltic, and equally so were the great Hanseatic cities. English policy under James I., who at times worked hard for the Northern Protestant Union, was unstable, and Brandenburg looked with apprehension on the growth of Swedish power near her outlying province of Prussia. Gustavus saw that an alliance with Brandenburg was of the greatest importance to Sweden, as it would materially strengthen her position on the southern shore of the Baltic. For this reason he listened to the advice of Oxenstyerna, who suggested that he should seek a consort from the family of Hohenzollern. He had already had two affairs of the heart. His first love had been Ebba Brahe, a beautiful lady of the court, sprung from one of the great Swedish families. But his mother, recognising that a king of Sweden must marry, not to please his own fancy, but to strengthen his state, had skilfully contrived to part the young lovers, and ultimately Ebba married James de la Gardie. Gustavus' next venture, one of the few stains on his career, was an illicit connection with Margaret Cabeliar, which resulted, in May 1616, in the birth of a son, Gustaf Gustafsson. Fully appreciating the wisdom of his chancellor's advice, in 1618, Gustavus decided to visit Berlin in disguise to see the lady whom policy pointed out as his future spouse. Again, in 1620, he visited the capital



of Brandenburg, this time under the name of Captain Gars (G. A. Rex Sueciae). The young elector, George William, whose one idea was peace, had no desire to bind his house to that of the Vasa. But the persuasive King of Sweden completely fascinated Maria Eleanora's mother, and, in August 1620, Oxenstyerna arrived in Berlin and conducted the bride-elect to her new country.

In the following year, 1621, the truce with Poland came to an end, and Gustavus determined to take advantage of the fact that his enemy was at war with the Turks. During the years of peace he had commenced those military reforms which are so intimately connected with his name. The numerous sieges in which he had taken part had taught him the value of artillery, and above all of good marksmanship with his guns. The mud of Poland and Russia, 'the fifth element,' had emphasised the need of differentiating between field and position artillery, and had caused him to experiment with light guns, and even to try cannon with leather muzzles bound with steel bands. The difficulty of maintaining discipline among his rude peasant boys and the foreign mercenaries from Germany and Scotland had led to the drafting of a code of military discipline. These famous articles of war were first read out to the Swedish army in July 1621. The gist of them was the establishment of regimental courts-martial for the trial of those guilty of larceny, cowardice and insubordination; of general courts-martial for cases of high treason and civil disputes. A regular scale of punishment was laid down. The death penalty was inflicted for plundering or outrage, and in the case of a regiment running away every tenth man selected by lot was liable to capital punishment. Flogging was not allowed. For less serious offences the punishment was riding the wooden horse, imprisonment in irons, bread and water, fines, etc. Duelling was absolutely forbidden. Lastly, morning and evening prayer

was to be observed in every regiment, and a full service and sermon on Sundays. Gustavus enforced discipline not only to gain victories, but for the sake of his men's moral character. 'My son,' he said to a soldier who pleaded for his life, 'it is better that I should now punish thee, than that the wrath of God for thy misdeeds and His judgment should fall on thee and me and all of us here present.'

The Polish campaign, of 1621, commenced auspiciously with the capture of Riga, and by June of the following year Sigismund was glad to make a truce which left Sweden in possession of all Livonia and part of Courland. This truce lasted till 1625. Gustavus accepted it, for Sweden was feeling the strain of almost continuous war; and there were many necessary reforms on which he had set his heart, notably the establishment of a central authority for the Swedish Church. But though he spent the greater part of 1623 in trying to effect this object, the stubborn dislike of the clergy to any interference on the part of the laity completely defeated his plans. As regards the state he was more fortunate, and, by 1626, he reorganised the house of the nobles and placed the diet on a more regular footing. But the real reason of the truce of 1623 was that Gustavus wanted to be in a position to observe the events that were taking place in Germany. Three things stood out of the general welter of confusion: first, that Catholicism was making a definite and a seemingly successful attempt to reconquer Europe; secondly, that in Ferdinand the house of Hapsburg possessed an able and energetic man, who was aiming at making the Imperial rule a reality; and thirdly, that the Bavarian General Tilly and the Imperial General Wallenstein were the greatest military leaders in Germany. In 1624, James of England, casting about for means to restore his son-in-law, approached Gustavus, and asked him on what terms he would undertake the adventure. Gustavus eagerly

desired to stand forth as the champion of Protestantism. But, in spite of Oxenstyerna's dictum, that 'If I did not perpetually throw cold water on you, you would catch fire and blaze up once and for all,' years of kingship were teaching him caution. He accordingly refused to move except on three conditions: first, that he should have complete and sole military control of the war; second, that England should find him pay for seventeen thousand men; and third, that he should be protected from any attack by Denmark, and be given two ports to secure his communications. James thought these terms excessive, and turned from Gustavus to Christian IV. of Denmark, with the result that the King of Denmark proved a broken reed, and the tide of Catholicism swept with increasing force towards the north.

With Christian of Denmark busily engaged in attempting to champion the Protestant cause in Germany, in 1625, Gustavus once again turned his attention to Poland. He easily overran Courland, but in November the Poles were able to concentrate against him two armies, and for the next two months it seemed as if his army must be defeated. But on January 2nd, 1626, at Wallhoff, against odds of about five to one, he crushed Zapieha's army, thanks to his tactical skill and the discipline of his troops. The important victory of Wallhoff freed Sweden of any danger from Poland, secured Livonia, and brought to the Swedish arms a prestige which never left them as long as Gustavus lived.

For the next four years Gustavus was busily engaged trying to capture Dantzic in order to gain a first-class base in Prussia, whence he might be able either to take part in operations in Germany or, if necessary, to bring overwhelming weight to bear against Poland. This involved the violation of the neutrality of his brother-in-law of Brandenburg, for he had to use Pillau, the port of Königsberg, as his base against Dantzic. Against Dantzic

itself he failed, for the Swedish fleet was not strong enough to command the sea and to prevent the introduction of provisions and supplies. But the campaigns round that city were an admirable preparation for the greater task which awaited the Swedish army in Germany. The king, with that rash courage which did so much to gain for him the admiration and devotion of his men, twice nearly lost his life and was severely wounded. He thus described one of these accidents: 'The enemy was just over against us on the Dantzig side, and began to play upon us with his cannon. J. Baner and Count Thorn were to lead the first attack, and I was to second them with the pikemen. We were all divided into our respective boats, and all would have gone well if my fellows had obeyed orders; but only one boat reached the opposite bank. The others mostly got stuck on the sand-bank, and one division of boats rowed in a wrong direction. So I jumped into a little boat to set matters right. And because it is apt to get rather hot on such occasions, I was actually hit in the belly by a shot. But I have God to thank it has not endangered my life or health, and I hope in a few days to direct the war again.'

Meanwhile, the Catholic danger was pressing in closer. In 1626, Christian had been totally defeated by Tilly at Lutter, and, by 1628, Wallenstein had overrun the two Mecklenburgs and been granted those duchies by the emperor, with the title of Admiral of the Baltic. Wallenstein had then seized the ports of Rostock and Wismar, and had attempted to occupy Stralsund. This he failed to accomplish, thanks to a reinforcement of Swedish troops under Alexander Leslie sent by Gustavus. So serious was the outlook that Christian of Denmark was glad to make an alliance with Sweden. Gustavus in turn, thanks to the good offices of Charnacé, an envoy of Richelieu, put an end to the Polish war by the Treaty of

Stuhmsdorf; whereby, after surrendering her other conquest, Sweden was allowed to retain Livonia and a great part of the coast of Prussia, including Elbing, Pillau and Memel, with customs dues to the amount of half a million rix dollars, George William of Brandenburg receiving in compensation Marienburg and other parts of west Prussia. The Protestants whom Sweden surrendered to Poland were to be assured freedom of religious worship.

In spite of the almost continuous warfare from 1610 the resources of Sweden had been constantly increasing. The long winter months when warfare was impossible allowed the king to return home for half of each year and fix his attention on the economic reform of the country, with the result that Oxenstyerna confessed that 'the king's majesty controls and steers mines, commerce, manufactures and customs, just as a statesman steers his ship.' Gustavus' economic policy was one of pure protection: to concentrate manufactures in towns he protected the towns from the country districts, and at the same time by confining foreign traders to thirteen staple towns he protected Sweden from the foreigner. Thus he established on a secure basis those industries which were necessary to Sweden for the maintenance of her armies in the field. His grant of the foreign trade in copper, iron, corn and salt to chartered companies was not so wise; still, as the financial burden of the war could not be thrown on the future, it was the only method of raising the necessary supplies. Meanwhile, every effort was made to improve communications within the country itself; fifteen new towns were founded by the king; four great schools were established at Vastrias, Strängnäs, Linköping and Åbo; and the university of Upsala was endowed with three hundred manors. In spite, however, of the quickening of national life and the material expansion of her resources, the struggle on which Sweden was now on the eve of



entering was one which might have appalled an even more sanguine man than Gustavus. The cost of maintaining the army, in 1630, led to a deficit of about a million dollars after the finances of the country had been strained to the uttermost.

Gustavus' entrance into the Thirty Years' War must be judged as a purely defensive action: as Oxenstyerna said, the king regarded Pomerania and the Baltic coast as the outworks of Sweden, and it was the attempt to turn the Baltic into an Imperial lake which drove him to take up arms against the emperor. Once he had determined that such a course was absolutely necessary, he naturally sought and found allies amongst the emperor's opponents; that is to say, the Protestant states of Germany. But Saxony, the nominal leader of the German Protestants, was lukewarm: Brandenburg was lethargic: and it was with the small states and Imperial towns of south-west that he was gradually driven to seek allies.

On March 29th, 1629, Ferdinand published his famous *Edict of Restitution*, restoring all Church land secularised since the peace of Augsburg. This meant that the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Misnia, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, Camin, and one hundred and twenty smaller foundations, after periods varying from fifty to eighty years, were to be taken away from the Protestants and restored to the Catholics. This edict, which delighted the Catholic League, roused the Protestants to fury, and disgusted Wallenstein. This last circumstance was the most important factor in the situation, for the edict could only be enforced by the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein. These two men differed immensely in military ability and political capacity. Tilly was a conscientious, careful strategist; intensely loyal to his master, the Elector of Bavaria.

Wallenstein was a free-lance : originally educated by the Moravians, he was no religious bigot. His character was a strange mixture of ambition, self-confidence, and fatalism. He had built up an army in which Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists were treated as equal. He had practically made war support war, and his magnificent force cost the emperor next to nothing. But he had ulterior designs of his own : he had laboured, not to impose Catholicism on Protestantism, but with the idea of revolutionising Germany, and of welding the country into a compact dominion under the emperor, with himself as chief lieutenant. The Edict of Restitution shattered his hopes ; it meant that the policy of crushing the princes and establishing the domination of the house of Hapsburg was too venturesome for the conscientious narrow-minded Ferdinand. Meanwhile, Wallenstein knew that the league was intriguing against him. Its leaders feared his ambition and writhed under his system, whereby both friend and foe had to sustain his army. Consequently, the emperor had to choose between abandoning the Edict of Restitution or Wallenstein. Obedient to the council of the Capuchin, Father Joseph, Richelieu's secret instrument, in July 1630, he made his momentous decision ; and a few weeks after Gustavus landed in Germany, he dismissed the only general capable of withstanding the Swedish king.

On June 26th, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus anchored his fleet off the island of Usedom, at the mouth of the Peene, on the Pomeranian coast. He had on board some 3000 marines and 13,000 soldiers, of whom half were Swedes and half Brandenburgers, Poles and Scots. By the end of the year these numbers had risen to 40,000. Thanks to the Polish wars, the military code and religious enthusiasm, it was a force infinitely superior in discipline to anything that had been seen in Germany for centuries. It was

also considerably more mobile than any army of the age. The flint-locks of the infantry were comparatively light ; the cavalry had given up a good deal of their defensive armour ; the field-artillery had been lightened to meet the mud of Poland ; and there was also a considerable body of dragoons or mounted infantry. Gustavus' first business was to secure a base of operations, and most of the year 1630 was spent in driving out the detachments of Tilly's army, and that which had lately been commanded by Wallenstein, from Pomerania and Mecklenburg. This included the occupation of Stettin and the forcing of the old Duke Boguslav of Pomerania to conclude an alliance whereby he placed his duchy under Swedish control and paid a contribution of 200,000 dollars. The duke was also compelled to agree that in the event of his death, until his successor (the Elector of Brandenburg) accepted the treaty, Sweden should still hold Pomerania. Meanwhile, Gustavus was labouring to draw into his alliance the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. They both declined, and stated that they wanted to remain neutral. This in either case was impossible, but especially so in that of Brandenburg, for Gustavus' only means of getting into touch with the other Protestant states was by securing the Oder as his line of communication. Once he had cleared away the Imperial forces from Greifenhagen and Garz, it was absolutely necessary that he should, either by alliance or by force of arms, occupy the Brandenburg fortresses of Küstrin and Frankfort. While the electors hung back, the town of Magdeburg expelled the Catholic emissaries and restored its administrator, Prince Christian William of Brandenburg ; and, in August 1631, entered into an alliance, whereby Gustavus promised to come to its assistance if necessary.

Magdeburg is an important strategic centre on the Elbe, which river runs nearly parallel to the Oder. As

soon as Tilly, who now commanded both the forces of the league and of the emperor, heard of its defection he despatched Pappenheim, a dashing cavalry leader, to reduce it. A few weeks later, at the end of October, Gustavus sent to its aid a distinguished Swedish officer, Diedrich von Falkenberg. Meanwhile, the Swedish king was establishing himself in Pomerania, and on Christmas day drove the Imperialists in rout up the Oder from their positions at Garz and Greifenhagen. By January 1631, only Colberg, Greifswalde and Dennin remained in the Imperialists' hands. But, what was even more satisfactory, in that month he concluded an alliance with France. Richelieu had long been seeking some weapon to use against the house of Austria, the great opponent of the expansion of France; and now, after finding that if he wanted Gustavus' help he must accept his terms, he concluded, on January 23rd, the Treaty of Bärwalde. By this he undertook to supply the king with 200,000 dollars for six years, on condition that Gustavus maintained an army of 36,000 men, and promised (1) to respect the Imperial constitution; (2) not to make war against the League of Bavaria unless attacked; and (3) to leave the Catholic religion untouched wherever he found it established. Meanwhile, the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony held a meeting of the Protestant states at Leipzig and assured the emperor of their fidelity, on the understanding that he would revoke the Edict of Restitution. For up till now the Protestant states looked with suspicion on the victorious course of the Swedish king. While these negotiations were going on, Tilly, by a sudden forward movement, captured New Brandenburg, putting its garrison of 2000 to the sword, and then thrust himself between Gustavus on the Oder and the Swedish general Horn in Mecklenburg. Thanks, however, to his superior mobility, the king was

able to regain touch with Horn, and Tilly, thus foiled, fell back on the Elbe.

Gustavus' next movement was to capture the fortress of Frankfort, which the Imperialists had seized. Tilly countered by joining Pappenheim at Magdeburg. The king was in honour bound to hasten to its relief, but he could only do so by violating the neutrality of Brandenburg, which might drive the elector into the arms of the emperor. After negotiations had failed, and Magdeburg was reported to be at its last gasp, he appeared before Berlin, and the sight of his cannon caused George William to throw open the gates of his fortress of Spandau. But it was too late, for, on May 20th, Pappenheim stormed Magdeburg, and for three days the city was given up to the licence of the soldiery. Gustavus felt the blow bitterly: he knew that by an error of judgment, in not sooner using force against the elector, he had incurred a stain on his honour, and had also dealt a blow to the confidence which he had hoped his name would inspire among the Protestants of Germany.

Meanwhile, the Imperialists were further elated by the news that peace had been signed between France and Austria at Cherasco, and that their forces from Italy were hastening to their help. But once again the action of the emperor brought ruin on his cause. In view of the arrival of these reinforcements Tilly was ordered to dismiss the Saxon troops, and to march at once against the Swedes. He accordingly did so, and proceeded to occupy the Saxon towns of Merseburg and Leipzig. Thereon the sluggish Elector John George, angry at this interference with his independence, suddenly made an alliance with Sweden. On September 17th, the allied army of Saxony and Sweden attacked Tilly near the village of Breitenfeldt, a few miles north of Leipzig. Tilly's forces, numbering 32,000, were drawn up in solid square along the rising ground above the stream of Loberbach. On the high



ground he massed thirty heavy cannon: in front of the guns he placed solid blocks of pikemen with musketeers at each corner; on the right the cavalry from Italy, under Fürstenburg; on the left the German cavalry under Pappenheim. To oppose him Gustavus had some 26,000 of his own men and 15,000 Saxons. The Saxons were posted on the left wing, but fled from the field at the first charge of Fürstenburg's horse. The Swedes were drawn up in two lines, with a local reserve for the first line between that and the second. The infantry were in the centre in company squares, with pikemen in the centre and musketeers at the wings. Each battalion had its own light guns in front, while on the left centre was a massed battery of a hundred pieces under Torstenson. With the wind and ground against him Gustavus at first suffered severely, but Pappenheim made a premature charge on the Swedish right which was at once followed by Fürstenburg's charge on the Saxons. As we have said, the Saxons fled, followed for miles by Fürstenburg, but thanks to his tactical ability Gustavus was able to throw back his left flank and form a new front. Meanwhile, the superior discipline of the Swedes broke up Pappenheim's attack, and the right wing was able to advance, swing round, seize Tilly's guns, and turn them on the Imperialists. Thus the victory was complete, and of Tilly's army some 10,000 were left on the field of battle, and as many more taken prisoner.

After Breitenfeldt two alternatives were possible for the conqueror. He might return to his line of communication on the Oder, leaving Saxony to guard his right flank and to protect the Protestants of Germany, and himself push down to the Danube. But even if he reached Vienna, unless the emperor at once capitulated, he would have been absolutely in the air with his communications open to attack. The other plan, and that which he

adopted, was to get the Saxons to advance on Silesia and thus completely to compromise the elector with the emperor, while he himself marched west to gain touch with the Protestants of the south-west: for his secondary reason in entering the war was to help 'our distressed brethren in Christ.' Moreover, by this means he was able to pick up a new base in the wealthy imperial cities and the rich valley of the Main.

By Christmas 1631, Gustavus, with his headquarters at Maintz, was master of central Germany and the valley of the Main; but except at Nuremberg he had been received with but little enthusiasm, for his position could never be secure until he had struck another blow at the armed forces of the enemy, and had also united the Protestant states in a firm league under his guidance. Meanwhile, however, the members of the league, feeling the weight of the Swedish sword and dreading the recall of Wallenstein, were inclined to listen to terms of peace. But the negotiations broke down, for, much to the disgust of Richelieu, Maximilian refused to agree to a scheme of absolute neutrality by which Gustavus and Ferdinand should fight out the quarrel. John George of Saxony seized this moment to announce his intention of withdrawing from the Swedish alliance. His policy, as suggested by Arnim, had been all along that Saxony should stand apart from the quarrel and form a third party, which might profit from the mishaps of either of the protagonists. To add to these troubles Wallenstein, whom Gustavus had sought to win to his side in the former summer, had been recalled by the emperor and was hard at work recruiting a new army. For Ferdinand had withdrawn the Edict of Restitution, and granted the adventurer all he demanded; and he was now both the military and the political dictator of Germany.

The campaign of 1632 opened by Gustavus making a

spirited attempt to crush the Elector of Bavaria before Wallenstein's force could be mobilised. Advancing from Nuremberg he captured Donauwörth on April 9th, and pushed on towards the position which Tilly had entrenched behind the Lech. This he forced ten days later, driving the wounded old marshal back into Ingolstadt to die. Thereafter Bavaria lay at his feet, but Maximilian with the remains of the Bavarian forces retired on Ratisbon. Meanwhile, John George of Saxony, playing for his own hand, had captured Prague, where he was suddenly surprised by Wallenstein's lieutenants and driven headlong back on his own dominions. Turning south, Wallenstein despatched Pappenheim with his cavalry to beat up the Swedish quarters in the Main valley, while he himself pushed forwards and formed a junction with the Bavarians.

Gustavus got news of this movement too late to enable him to interpose between Wallenstein and Maximilian; he accordingly threw himself into Nürnberg, and there in his entrenched camp awaited the return of the outlying detachments which he had at once recalled. Wallenstein also knew the importance of the spade, and at the end of June dug his greatly superior army into a strong position overlooking Gustavus' camp. His superiority in cavalry enabled him to cripple the Swedish commissariat. For two months the great masters of war lay watching each other, each seeking an opening. Meanwhile, disease and famine were decimating both armies, though Wallenstein's men did not suffer to the same degree as the Swedes. On September 3rd, Gustavus, seeing his forces dwindling and the foe inexorable, led his troops against the heights where the enemy lay entrenched. In vain for a day and a night the Swedes flung themselves against the ramparts of the old castle, the Alte Veste. At last they were forced to retire, and a few days later Gustavus marched them off

to Swabia to restore his base between the Main and the Danube, leaving Wallenstein master of the position. That general had no intention of risking another engagement, and turned leisurely to the task of showing John George the error of his ways, by plundering the Saxon lands. Gustavus heard of the plight of his ally at Donauwörth, where he was busily engaged in arranging a new campaign on the Danube. Anxious for the safety of his communications with the Baltic, and afraid of the effect of this display of strength on his wavering ally, he left Oxenstyerna as his representative in southern Germany; and, calling to his aid the free-lance Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, pushed through Thuringia and seized Erfurt and Naumburg before Wallenstein was aware that he was in the neighbourhood.

The surprise was complete. Wallenstein had never dreamed of such rapidity, and, while intending to form an entrenched camp for his winter quarters between Merseburg and Torgau, had allowed Pappenheim to set off Rhinewards by way of Halle. In spite of urgent entreaties the elector refused to come to Gustavus' aid; but this did not prevent the king, though he was oppressed by the impending sense of death, from accepting the advice of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, who urged him to fight. Meanwhile, to keep in touch with Pappenheim, Wallenstein fell back northwards on Lützen, where, on the morning of November 16th, the Swedish army came into touch with him in the fog.

The Imperial commander had entrenched the high road to Leipzig which ran roughly across the front of his position, and had, so far as can be ascertained, drawn up his force in one long heavy line. His right under Colloredo, resting on the town of Lützen, was composed of cavalry interspersed with musketeers after the Swedish method: he himself commanded the solid squares of infantry in the centre; on his left were the cuirassiers, temporarily under

the command of Holck and Piccolomini, but eagerly awaiting the return of Pappenheim. Wallenstein's strength alone was over 25,000, and Pappenheim with 8000 men was expected at any moment. In addition to this the deep ditches which covered the plain neutralised to a great extent the mobility of the Swedish army. On his side Gustavus had some 18,000 of his best troops. His army was drawn up in two lines with local reserves as at Breitenfeldt. The cavalry on the left was commanded by Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the infantry in the centre by Count Nils Brahe, and the king himself with Stålhanske commanded the Finnish horse on the left; whilst Kniphausen led the infantry of the second line, and Balach and Hoffkirch commanded the horse. Prayers were read as usual at the head of each regiment, and Luther's psalm 'eine feste Burg ist unser Gott,' and the king's own hymn 'Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein,' were then sung. Thereafter the king harangued both Swedes and Germans, and then gave the order to advance.

The Swedish plan was to attempt to break up the Imperial right and drive the enemy from Lützen, thus interposing between him and Halle, and driving him towards the elector of Saxony. The mist rolled away at ten o'clock, and after an hour's cannonade a general advance was commanded. From that moment the battle raged incessantly with alternating success for nine hours, and it is impossible to procure a consecutive narrative of events. One thing seems certain, that by about twelve o'clock the Swedes had so gained ground that they had seized the Leipzig road. At this moment, when it appears that Pappenheim was on the point of arriving, Wallenstein hurled all his available cuirassiers on the Swedish centre. Gustavus with his Finns hurried to the rescue, and amid the confusion and mist got separated from his men. Surrounded by a troop of the enemy's cavalry, with but



a couple of pages and the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, he fell shot in the back while attempting to escape. The cuirassiers rode up and asked his name, and his page, who was found mortally wounded beside him, reported that he heard him say, 'I am the King of Sweden, who do seal the Religion and Liberty of the German nation with my blood.' Thereon the horsemen plunged their swords again and again into his body. Meanwhile, the sight of his white horse galloping riderless, streaming with blood, told the sorrowful tale to his troops. Bernard took command. Encouraged by his exclamation, 'Retreat! the time is passed. It is vengeance now,' the Swedes set to work grimly to avenge their king. Pappenheim fell mortally wounded, and the fight raged hand to hand till at last darkness set in, when after one more superhuman effort the Swedes drove the enemy from their trenches. But the victory was a hollow one, for the one man who could have profited by it had fallen, and the end of the war, which might have followed the battle of Lützen, was thus postponed for sixteen years.

'Think not of me, for I am nothing but a weak and dying man. Think only of the cause.' Such were Gustavus' last words to his wife five days before his death at Lützen. In them we may see the guiding principle of his life and the secret of his success, which endeared him to his contemporaries, and still causes the mention of his name to send a thrill through every Protestant breast. If we would judge him rightly we must regard his career from three distinct points of view: first, as King of Sweden; secondly, as a European statesman; and thirdly, as a soldier.

Gustavus himself had ever this first point in view: what was his duty as a Christian gentleman, the King of Sweden. Obviously in this capacity the first thing to do was to provide for the independence of his country, and this in

his opinion could only be secured by her expansion and development. His wars therefore, though fought on the offensive, must not be regarded as mere wars of aggression. They were fought to obtain a 'bastion' for Sweden. We have shown how during the intervals of warfare he found time to supervise the development and the civilisation of his country; and how, while ruling as a benevolent despot, he yet, like Edward I., prepared the way for constitutional government.

But it is as the European statesman that he is most interesting to the majority of readers. He fell, as we have seen, just at the moment of success; just before he was faced with the task of reconstruction. The question we have to attempt to answer is this: From what we know of his policy and his ideals, on what base would he, if he had been spared, have attempted to restore the equilibrium in Germany? There are those who have insinuated that his sole object was to seize for himself the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. But his friend and chancellor Oxenstyerna utterly denied such an idea. It is to the negotiations at Maintz, during Christmas time 1631, that we must turn to see what solution of the problem he had sketched out in his mind. We find that he was working to bring into being a 'Corpus Evangelicorum,' or Confederacy of the German Protestant States, Lutheran and Calvinist alike, with himself the King of Sweden at their head, both as their political leader and military chief. His duty would have been to protect the confederates from any aggression by the Catholics, while Sweden would have been strengthened by being represented in the Imperial Diet by her king, sitting as Duke of Pomerania. That the scheme might have succeeded is clear from the success of the League of Heilbronn, made soon after the king's death by Oxenstyerna. Further, we must remember that, if it had not been for Bavaria, the Catholic League would have gladly made terms of peace with the king.

For 'The Lion of the North and the Bulwark of the Protestant Faith' was no cruel persecutor, nay, not even a proselytiser. His only object was to restore the Protestant religion to the position it had held in 1618, the year of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.

As a soldier Gustavus stands high indeed. We have already noted his ability to discover the technical causes which in his day led to victory, and how on these lines he revolutionised the equipment, material and armament of his forces, modifying the existing tactics to suit the new conditions. Two things we have neglected to mention: first, the fact that it was Gustavus who taught cavalry to rely on shock and impact, and not merely to gallop up, fire their pistols, and return to reload. Secondly, the use he made of the spade, a lesson which in these days has too often been neglected. But it is not only as an organiser and a tactician that he is great. The sure eye which discovered the most suitable base of operations; the careful strengthening of his base before a further advance; the clever use of river and cities as lines of communication in a country sparsely populated and devastated by war; the masterly methods whereby with five armies scattered over Germany he always managed to reinforce the threatened spot, so as to be found in strength at the vital moment, so well illustrated in his operations during the spring of 1632 and his dash at Lützen; the self-control which taught him never to fritter away his strength on useless engagements, and never to hesitate to strike when an advantage could be gained—all mark him out as a great soldier. He also possessed great personal magnetism: this attribute, as its name suggests, implies immediate contact with individuals. But his force of character was sufficient to impress his will even over his scattered commanders; and although, like other great soldiers before and after, he was constantly threatened by the petty jealousies of his

subordinates, on the whole he successfully compelled them to unite. 'Do not let me come to any harm,' he wrote, in December 1631, to Baner, 'owing to your jealousies; help one another without other thought than the good of our fatherland. Amend your lazy ways and send me a messenger at least once a week.' Looting he sternly repressed. When his German troops commenced plundering round Nuremberg he thus harangued them: 'They are no Swedes who commit these crimes, but Germans. . . . I came to restore every man to his own, but this accursed robbing of yours does much abate my purpose. I have not enriched myself by as much as one pair of boots since my coming to Germany, though I have had forty tons of gold passing through my hands. By such means as you are now employing victory will never be won.'

One of his subordinates, the Scot, Monro, thus sums him up as a soldier. 'He did not like so well of an officer that was not capable to understand his directions, as he was ready in giving them: nevertheless, he would not suffer an officer to part from him till he found he was understood by the receiver of the order. Such a general I would gladly serve, but such a general I shall hardly see, whose custom was to be first and last in danger himself, gaining his officers' love in being the companion both of their labours and dangers.'

Errors of judgment, as in the case of the relief of Magdeburg, he made no doubt both in war and in politics; but like other great soldiers and statesmen he was remarkable for the ability whereby he retrieved his mistakes. From his high ideals he never wavered. God had raised him to the throne to defend his country and his religion. This was the keynote of his career, and this it was which inspired him to be a patriot king, a wise statesman, a great soldier—in a word, a true gentleman, passionate at times, but always simple, brave and devout.

## LOUIS XIV

ON the death of Gustavus Adolphus the Swedish chancellor, Oxenstyerna, formed the League of Heilbronn, whereby the Circles of Swabia, Franconia, the Upper and Lower Rhine, and Sweden pledged themselves to carry on the dead king's policy. But from 1635 onwards the motive of the war changed. After the crushing defeat of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the general of the league, at Nördlingen (September 1634), John George of Saxony made his peace with the emperor at Prague. The terms were that the question of the ecclesiastical lands should be settled on the basis of their ownership in the year 1627. This secured almost all the northern bishoprics to the Lutherans, and it was hoped that it might form the basis of a general peace. Thus the purely religious factor dropped out, but unfortunately the war did not end for another thirteen years. Not because the mass of the Germans did not desire peace, but because France was afraid that the two Hapsburg powers, once more closely allied, might attempt to wrest from her what she had gained during the late turmoils.

We are now entering upon a new phase in the history of Europe. It is marked by the attempt of the King of France to build up for himself an empire which should extend not only over western Europe, but over the New World. During the sixteenth century the power of France had been on the wane. She was exhausted by the wars of aggression in Italy at the beginning of the century, and wrecked by internal strife. Her political development



had been arrested by the power of the over-mighty subject. Neither the crown nor the states-general had sufficient authority to unify the kingdom, and the consequence was that the nobles seized the opportunity of the Reformation to increase their power. The long wars of the Huguenots were not so much religious as disruptive in their origin. The great Huguenot nobles thought more of their own authority than of religion. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, as in England at the commencement of the fifteenth, the country was calling out for more governance. Unfortunately the dagger of Ravallac ended the reign of Henry IV. before that capable monarch could effect a real alteration in the state of affairs. If Henry had lived it is possible that the crown might have been strengthened by calling in to its assistance the states-general. But on his death the nobles once more assumed the upper hand, and civil war broke out again, Condé and the princes uniting with the Huguenots. However, in 1616, an event occurred which was to have far-reaching consequences, for in that year Louis XIII. summoned to his council Richelieu, the young bishop of Luçon. From that day the king fell entirely under his influence. Promotion came quickly to the young favourite, who soon became prime minister, cardinal, and absolute ruler of France.

Richelieu's policy was threefold—to establish an absolute despotism in France, to destroy the Hapsburg power, and to make his country the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. One of the most unlovable of men known to history, he quietly worked at his objects and succeeded, though, as Corneille wrote of him, 'Pride, ambition, self-interest, avarice, clothed with his name, dictated laws to France'; while Grotius wrote: 'He kept his allies in their places, and made Frenchmen his slaves; his friends were at his feet, his foes in the dungeon; it was his one curse to be the curse of all men; he was as much the torment as the

ornament of his time.' Most thoroughly did he do his work. At home the 'parlements' or legal corporations both of Paris and of the provinces resisted in vain; the Church was made subservient; the Huguenot cities, like Rochelle and Nîmes, were crushed into silence; the local states deprived of liberty; and the nobles, gradually stripped of their political offices, were taught to look for promotion to the pleasure of the king. Abroad his policy was to extend the frontiers of France on the west to the Pyrenees by the capture of Roussillon, and on the east to the Rhine. This necessitated a bitter struggle with the two houses of Hapsburg. It involved France in war along the Pyrenees, in Italy in the Valtelline and elsewhere, to cut off Spanish reinforcements from crossing the Alps to aid their fellow countrymen in Franche Comté and the Netherlands. In Germany it meant direct war with the emperor over the question of Alsace, and the fiefs of the empire which lay on the left bank of the Rhine. This was the reason why Richelieu subsidised Gustavus Adolphus, helped the League of Heilbronn, patronised the smaller German states, and continually intrigued with the Elector of Bavaria.

When the great cardinal died, in December 1642, though many of his objects were not yet attained, France was the dominating factor in European politics. She had increased her possessions by the acquisition of Perpignan and Roussillon in the south-west; on the north-east she had gained Artois; she was gradually absorbing Lorraine; she held the keys of northern Italy in her hands, and her allies were crushing the Hapsburgs in Germany. At home Richelieu had conquered all opposition, and the king was ready to accept the Italian Mazarin, whom he nominated as his successor. Moreover, the succession question was now secure, for in 1638, after twenty years of married life, the Queen, Anne of Austria, had given

birth to a son, the future Louis XIV. Six months after his mighty subject's death Louis XIII. also died, and his four-year-old son began a reign which was to last for seventy-two years.

The early years of Louis' reign were marked by troubles at home and war abroad. There was constant fighting against the Spaniards along the Pyrenees and in the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Lorraine, and Franche Comté, and against the Imperialists in Alsace and across the Rhine. Fortunately for France, in the young d'Enghien, better known under his later title of Condé, and in Turenne, the French found they possessed the two greatest generals of the age. Meanwhile, the nobles banished by Richelieu had returned home with the intention of regaining their position. They included Henry of Condé, father of d'Enghien; Condé's son-in-law, the Duke of Longueville; the Duke of Beaufort, the grandson of Henry IV., 'the idol of the markets'; and the famous Duchess of Chevreuse. They had gained for themselves the title of 'les importants,' owing to their ridiculous pretensions, but their opposition was not so formidable as that of the 'parlement.' The 'parlement' of Paris differed entirely from the English parliament, in that it was composed of an hereditary class of lawyers. It was in fact a learned society, which by its position as registrar of the royal edicts had acquired certain constitutional pretensions that had been roughly put aside by Richelieu. Now in the new reign it sought to regain these privileges, and thought to play the part its namesake was playing in English politics. But it had not the necessary driving power, because it merely represented an hereditary class and not the people at large. One thing the 'Importants' and the 'parlement' had in common, and that was their hate for Mazarin, Richelieu's successor, now the right-hand man of the queen, her confidant, and her future husband. The opposition

became known as the Fronde, a nickname invented by a parliamentary wit, Bachaumont, who told the lawyers 'they were like school-boys playing in the town ditches with slings (fronde=a sling), who run away directly the watchman appears and begin again when his back is turned.'

In September 1643, d'Enghien's victory of Rocroi, which once and for all shattered the remnants of Spain's military prestige, enabled Mazarin to crush the 'Importants'; while Turenne's victory of Nordlingen, in 1645, allowed him for the moment to override the 'parlement.' But opposition to the heavy taxation necessary for the wars gradually gained strength; and at last, in 1648, at the very moment that the conference was assembling in Westphalia which was to end the Thirty Years' War, civil war broke out in France. In January the young Louis had attended what was called a 'lit de justice,' and forced the 'parlement' to register Mazarin's decrees establishing a heavy duty on all goods entering Paris. The result had been that under the clever guidance of de Retz, the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris, the city had risen in revolt, and the court had had to flee to St. Germain. A temporary peace was patched up at Ruel, in April, Mazarin conceding nearly everything, as he hoped to regain all when the peace of Westphalia set free the army. Condé's victory of Lens (August 20th) gave him the opportunity of arresting Broussel, the leader of the 'parlement.' But Paris rose in arms, and, on both Condé and Turenne declaring for the 'parlement,' the court party was forced to accept the demands of the Frondeurs. The land tax (Taille) was repealed; the Intendants, who had taken the place of the nobles as governors of the provinces, were deposed; a sort of Habeas Corpus act was passed, and the 'parlement' was granted power over taxation. But, in January 1649, the court party, knowing the weakness of the opposition, reopened the war. Its leaders recognised that the nobles

cared nothing for the 'parlement,' and were merely playing for their own hand. For the next four years there ensued a struggle, during the last two years of which the king's army under Turenne was faced by the Frondeurs under Condé, who had allied himself with the Spaniards. Meanwhile, to break up the coalition, from time to time Mazarin withdrew into retirement. At last, in October 1652, the king's party prevailed, entered Paris, and forced the 'parlement' to give up its powers. Mazarin returned, and six months later, in July 1653, the Fronde ended by the Treaty of Bordeaux.

Louis attained his majority in September 1651, but until the death of Mazarin, in March 1661, he reigned but did not govern. Meanwhile, under the skilful eye of his stepfather, his character was gradually being formed. The cardinal did not trouble much about literary education, and Louis was all his life grossly ignorant of philosophy, literature, languages, science, and even of religion. But he took care to see that his stepson had a thorough knowledge of politics. It was easy to impress on the young king, brought up amid the turbulent scenes of the Fronde, the necessity of a united kingdom under the strong government of the crown: this implied the elimination of the nobility from politics, and the careful suppression of the Huguenots. The wily Italian spent hours in teaching him the importance of prudence in making plans, and of perseverance and tact in carrying them out. Louis was by nature susceptible to feminine influence: to counteract this, and to strengthen him both morally and physically, Mazarin encouraged him in military pursuits. From 1649 onwards, Louis spent a great part of his time with the army, with beneficial results both to himself and to the service: for his presence did much to stimulate the troops, and gave him a great hold on his subjects. Unfortunately, however, the theatrical side of



war rather than the active appealed to his nature, and in later years his predilection for sieges rather than battles was detrimental to the interests of the army and of France.

Meanwhile, Mazarin was completing the foundations of that foreign policy which was to end in the predominance of France over western Europe. Under Turenne the French arms were gradually asserting their superiority over the Spanish. In 1657, Mazarin induced Cromwell to join him in the war against Spain, and in the following year Lionne built up the League of the Rhine whereby Bavaria, Sweden, Brunswick, and the Rhenish electors took the part of France, with the result that, in November 1659, Spain was glad to sign the Treaty of the Pyrenees. By the Treaty of Westphalia (October 1648) France had gained the Austrian possessions in Upper and Lower Alsace, the three bishoprics of Verdun, Toul and Metz, the prefecture over the Imperial cities in Alsace, and thus acquired a right to interfere in the empire. She now wrested from Spain Artois, many fortresses in Flanders, Hainault and Luxemburg, which protected her weak frontier on the north-east; while on the south-west she was confirmed in her possession of Roussillon and Cerdagne, Spain also relinquishing any claim to Alsace. In return, under certain conditions, she promised to return Lorraine to its duke, Charles III., but he refused to accept the conditions. The treaty was cemented by a marriage between Louis and Maria Theresa, the Spanish king's daughter. She, however, was to renounce entirely all claim to the Spanish crown; a renunciation which Mazarin well knew would never hold good against the temptations and exigencies of time.

On March 8th, 1661, after ruling France for twenty years, Mazarin breathed his last. Abroad he left her in a commanding position; but at home, owing to his grasping selfishness and lack of financial understanding, she was

bankrupt in money and suffering from political anaemia. He had done much for France, still Colbert's saying is true: 'It is indubitable that if Cardinal Mazarin understood foreign affairs, he was utterly ignorant of home government.'

Louis was now in his twenty-third year: though admirably proportioned he was below middle height; his eyes were blue, his nose long and well-formed, and his hair abundant, and hanging over his shoulders. In expression he was serious and phlegmatic: he rarely laughed, and seldom gave way to anger. Up till now he had seemed to take no interest in politics, so there was general amazement when on Mazarin's death he summoned his council and told the chancellor, 'Sir, I have summoned you with my ministers and secretaries of state to tell you that hitherto I have been willing to let my affairs be managed by the late cardinal; in future, I shall be my own prime minister,' and then proceeded to say to them that no agreement or despatch must be signed, and no money expended, without his orders and knowledge. Nearly everybody thought that he would soon tire of business; for hitherto, except for the time spent in camp, the organisation of amusements had been his sole occupation, except the attendance on those ladies who from time to time had gained his affections. Some few keen observers thought otherwise. Le Tellier had noticed 'The basis of severity and seriousness with which Louis knew how to strengthen the natural kindness of his nature'; and Mazarin had declared that 'he will set off later, but will go further than others,' adding that he had 'the making of four kings and of one good man.'

From the moment that he took the government into his own hands to the day of his death, Louis worked systematically five hours a day. 'I gave myself a law,' he wrote, 'to work regularly twice a day for two or three

hours each with various persons, without speaking of the hours I spent working by myself. There was no moment when it was not allowed to speak to me about business if there was any urgency.' The apocryphal saying, 'L'état, c'est moi!' attributed to him, accurately represents his view, that, in his own person, all the threads of internal government and foreign policy met. He had no spark of genius or of originality, but he had, like many second-rate men, an intense love of detail for detail's sake. He was intensely proud and peculiarly susceptible to flattery, and hence very early in his career he developed the worst form of arrogance, with the result that he allowed his own ambition to usurp the place of public policy. So sure was he of his own capability that he preferred second-rate men, for he was convinced that the success of the earlier part of his reign was due to his own guidance, not to the efforts of the wonderful administrators he inherited from Mazarin. But he had the merit of clearly understanding the drift of European politics, of working ceaselessly for the object he had in view, and of nearly always forgoing minor success in order to gain the greater prize. Though not endowed with physical courage he possessed the great virtue of moral courage. All through his life he laboured at 'Le métier du Roi.' With his graceful person, his dignified, calm, debonair manner, and the seriousness which clothed his ignorance or want of capacity, he appeared 'every inch a king'; and, as Bolingbroke said of him, he was, 'if not the greatest king, the best actor of majesty at least, that ever filled a throne.'

Louis' first work was to divide the government between those agents who, he determined, should serve him but not govern. Lionne, a capable diplomatist, was placed in charge of foreign affairs. Le Tellier, aided by his famous son Louvois, was made Secretary of War; and Fouquet, a man of low origin, but brilliant, immoral and cultivated,

was allowed to remain Intendant of Finances. The cardinal had warned Louis that Fouquet was not to be trusted, so Colbert received secret instructions to keep a vigilant eye on the Intendant. Fouquet's fall came soon. Not only had he defrauded the government, but he had also the insolence to raise his eyes to the king's mistress, Mademoiselle de la Vallière. He was, therefore, suddenly arrested, and after a three years' trial was condemned to banishment. But Louis dreaded his knowledge, and changed the sentence to perpetual imprisonment. Colbert, a man after Louis' own heart, who arrived every morning at the Council Chamber with a little black bag like a commercial traveller, took his place though not his honours. Thanks to his strict methods of audit, his repudiation of Fouquet's extravagant loans, his superintendence of the tax-farmers, his resistance to fraudulent claims to exemption, and his abolition of vexatious taxes, he completely restored the national finances. In 1661, the budget showed a deficit of twenty-three million livres, for out of eighty-four million raised only thirty-two million reached the treasury; but, by 1667, the expenditure had fallen from fifty-four millions to thirty-two and a half millions, and there was a surplus of thirty-one millions. Meanwhile, manufactures had been started under protection; roads and canals, like the great canal of Languedoc, commenced throughout the country; the internal tolls equalised; companies formed to trade with the East and the West Indies; colonists sent to Madagascar and New France (Canada); and the navy completely reorganised. In 1661, the French navy had but few vessels; by 1667, it had fifty; by 1672, one hundred and ninety-six; and, by 1690, seven hundred and sixty ships of war. To provide for this growing fleet Vauban, the great engineer, was entrusted with the work of fortifying the ports of Calais, Dunkirk, Brest and Havre, while arsenals were also

established at Rochefort and Toulon, and naval schools at Rochefort, Dieppe and St. Malo.

Louis threw himself heart and soul into the supervision of all these works, and in nearly everything saw eye to eye with Colbert. Laws were codified ; the number of judges decreased ; justice was made cheaper ; the Institute of France, the Academy of Inscriptions and Medals, the Academy of Architecture and Music, and academies at Rouen, Arles, Nîmes and Soissons were founded ; and literary men such as Molière, Racine and Boileau received the royal patronage. Colbert, in spite of his appreciation of the industry of the Huguenots, supported Louis' attempts at their conversion. In fact, the only point on which they had any real difference of opinion was on building. Colbert desired to beautify Paris : he built the colonnade of the Louvre, and planned boulevards and quays, but here he was checked by Louis' desire to concentrate his attention on Versailles and Marly.

By 1671, thanks to Colbert's ability, France had gained for herself a position hitherto unknown among the nations of the world. Her administration was careful and just ; on the whole her people were prosperous, contented and obedient ; her soil was fertile and well cultivated ; her new industries were growing and prosperous ; her army was the best equipped and most easily mobilised in Europe ; her navy was quickly overtaking those of the great maritime states, England and Holland ; her colonial empires in the East and West were rapidly expanding, opening fresh fields of wealth and industry ; her frontiers, except in the north-east, were clearly defined and strongly fortified ; and her court was the most brilliant and most polished in Europe.

Louis' appetite for pleasure seemed to grow hand in hand with his love of work. Night after night at the palace there were fêtes, dances, and mythological or



classic pageants, in which he delighted to display his fine person, tricked out as Apollo, the Sun God, vaunting the motto 'Nec pluribus impar' round his famous device of the sun, as if like Alexander he longed for other worlds to dazzle with his light. But whether engaged with the details of the administration of France or with the organisation of the pleasures of his court, his brain was always busy with the great problem of how he might play the rôle of Charlemagne in Europe.

Louis had never intended to allow his wife's renunciation of the Spanish crown to stand in the way of his ambitions. His correspondence with his Spanish agent, the Archbishop of Embrun, only too clearly discloses the fact. Nothing is more cynical than the archbishop's letter in which he declares his feelings while celebrating Mass at Madrid, and he explains that while praying openly for the royal family he did not forget 'all the while to pray secretly, as I am bound, for the prosperity of your majesty, and hoping for the moment (that is, the death of Philip IV. and his son Charles) when it may be permitted me to pray here for your majesty aloud.'

In 1665, Philip IV. died, leaving one son, Charles II., a sickly child. Louis at once seized the occasion to enlarge his boundaries. On the strength of an old local feudal custom of the province of Brabant called the 'Jus Devolutionis,' by which in the event of a second marriage a landed estate went to the issue, male or female, of the first marriage, he claimed for his wife Luxemburg and the Spanish Netherlands. He added as a further justification that as descendants of Charlemagne 'the kings of France were their natural lords before kings of Castile even existed at all.' But it was not till August 1667, that his plans were ready; then, with a large army under Turenne, he seized Charleroi, Lille and Tournai: the whole of the Spanish Netherlands lay at his mercy. Later, in February 1668,

during a short winter campaign Franche Comté was completely overrun by Condé.

Europe was astonished by this sudden display of strength on the part of France ; it was clear to all that the centre of power had changed. The maritime states of Holland, Sweden and England, lately so jealous of each other, could not allow the Netherlands to fall a prey to this new great power. A Triple Alliance was concluded, in January 1668, whereby each promised to help the others if attacked, and to endeavour to restore peace between France and Spain. Meanwhile, Louis, foreseeing this storm centre, in the same month made a secret treaty with the emperor for the eventual partition of the Spanish empire. The result was that the war came to a speedy end. By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in May 1668, in return for evacuating Franche Comté, Louis was granted twelve strongholds in the Netherlands. This treaty was a diplomatic victory for France, as the north-eastern frontier was the only weak spot in her defences. It procured for Louis a reputation for moderation ; while the secret treaty with the emperor was one step gained on the way to the absorption of the Spanish empire. The War of Devolution is an important event in Louis' life. It sowed in his heart the seeds which were to lead to his undoing, for by teaching him the immense superiority of his arms and of his diplomacy, it fired his growing self-confidence and pride ; while it left in his mind an undying grudge against the Dutch, who had deserted his alliance and raised up against him the Triple Alliance. It was by his efforts to avenge himself on them that ultimately his plans miscarried.

The next two years were spent in scheming vengeance. By secret treaties with England, Sweden, and the emperor, the Dutch were gradually isolated. Meanwhile, at home, Vauban was busy reorganising the defences of the ceded

fortresses, and the Huguenots were made to feel that in some way they were responsible for the insolence of the Protestant Republicans of Holland. All the time Louvois, the great war minister, was incessantly engaged in perfecting the French army.

The year 1672 was the turning-point in the reign. Two policies were open to Louis. For the one stood Colbert, for the other stood Louvois. Colbert offered him the possibility of building up a colonial empire such as the world had never before seen, and of making France the workshop of Europe. As part of such a scheme Leibnitz, the philosopher, pointed out to him the possibility of conquering Egypt and turning the Mediterranean into a French lake. On the other hand stood Louvois, 'the most brutal of agents,' the incarnation of the policy of aggrandisement, offering him an army which no power in Europe could resist, while the now politically disinherited nobles were clamouring for the chance of distinguishing themselves on the battlefield. Unfortunately for Louis he allowed personal ambition and the desire for vengeance to conquer, and he determined to crush the Dutch. 'My father,' he boasted, 'built them up, but I will tear them down.'

The die was cast. As Voltaire wrote, 'All that the efforts of human ambition and prudence could prepare for the destruction of a nation he had done,' and May 1672 found the king marching northwards with Turenne and 120,000 armed men at his back. The Dutch could offer practically no resistance, so pushing down the Meuse, masking the important fortress of Maestricht, the French army, after successfully crossing the Rhine at Tolhuys, found itself, on June 13th, on the Yssel with all the great fortresses safely passed and nothing between it and Amsterdam. Then Louis took upon himself to override the advice of Condé and Turenne, and instead of dashing straight forward began his favourite pastime of besieging

towns. This gave the Dutch a few days' breathing space, in which they overthrew their oligarchical government, and summoned the young Prince of Orange to the stadtholdership. William lost not a moment; he at once ordered the sluices to be opened, and Amsterdam was soon safely surrounded by an inland sea. Thus it was that Louis was responsible for calling into the field the one man in Europe who was able to withstand him, and turned, what might have been one of the most brilliantly decisive campaigns known to history, into a stalemate. By September Holland's allies, the emperor and the dukes of Lorraine, Brunswick and Hesse, had their armies in the field; Montecuculi, the only soldier able to hold his own against Condé or Turenne, was on the Rhine, and the French lost the initiative. The war lasted six and a half years. It is remarkable for the great strategic campaigns fought on either side of the Rhine between Turenne and Montecuculi; for the famous display of military engineering in the Spanish Netherlands, where Vauban delighted Louis' heart by his skill in capturing and fortifying fortresses; for the brutal devastation of the Palatinate (in 1674); for the success of the French fleets against the Dutch in the Mediterranean; and for the fickleness of England, whose King Charles was in Louis' pay, while the nation at heart desired to save the Netherlands and Holland from the French.

The war came to an end, in August 1679, by the Treaty of Nimeguen, whereby France was confirmed in the possession of Franche Comté and virtually also of Lorraine; for, as in 1659, the Duke of Lorraine refused to accept the terms offered him. The Dutch were secured in their possessions, and, as a barrier against France, were allowed to fortify and occupy certain fortresses on the French border of the Spanish Netherlands, known as the 'barrier fortresses.' Thus, in spite of the fact that Europe had

really taught Louis there were limits to his ambition, to his contemporaries the peace seemed 'as it were to establish the domination of France over all Europe: her king had risen to be the arbiter of all in this portion of our hemisphere.'

But France had had to pay a great price for the triumphs of her king. The war had strained the revenues of the country; the people were overtaxed; the fields were lying uncultivated; the new industries were languishing; and murmurs were heard on all sides. Yet to the outward eye she still seemed magnificent. The great pompous palace of Versailles was approaching completion; the dauphin had just married a Bavarian princess, Maria Anne; a chain of armies three hundred thousand strong defended her frontiers or attacked her foes; Charles of England, the Swedes, Bavaria, Hanover, Cologne and Münster were all in French pay. Louis stood on the topmost pinnacle of his fame. In 1681, the city of Paris voted him the title of 'le grand': Pellisson, the historian, called him a visible miracle; and when, in 1679, his statue was unveiled at Paris in the Place des Victoires, la Feuillade 'then rode round at the head of his regiment of guards, with all those prostrations which in old times the pagans used before the statues of their emperors.'

The year 1679 is another turning-point in the reign of Louis. Naturally cold-hearted and selfish, as Saint-Simon said, 'he cared for no one, and thought of no one but himself, and was all in all to himself.' Up till now he had thought but of the pleasures of this life, now he began to think of the future. His mistress, Madame de Montespan, to whom he had been more or less attached for almost twenty years, was haughty, imperious, and the terror of the court. As long back as 1666, she had taken as the governess for her children, Françoise d'Aubigné, widow of a comic-poet called Scarron, granddaughter of d'Aubigné, the friend of Henry IV. At first Louis cordially disliked



this woman, calling her a 'Précieuse'; but with a cold temperament she 'went quietly but carried far.' Bit by bit the king's dislike gave way before her placid beauty, until at last she became his sole desire. So completely did he fall under her influence that on the death of his unfortunate queen, in 1683, he married Madame Scarron, or, as she was now called, Madame de Maintenon. For thirty-two years this lady ruled France, for Louis did nothing without consulting her. Madame de Maintenon was a sort of 'female Jesuit.' 'She believed herself to be a universal abbess, especially in spiritual matters.' A *dévoté*, her great desire was first to win Louis to religion, and secondly to bring all Frenchmen within the bonds of the Catholic Church. It was the result of her influence working on Louis' well-known desire for uniformity and his dislike of the Huguenots as bad citizens—'a state within a state, guilty of disorder, revolt, warfare at home, disloyal alliances abroad'—which, in 1681, caused him to commence his attempt to stamp them out. Every means was tried to make them change their religion; they were offered rewards for their conversion; and, when these failed, soldiers were arbitrarily quartered on them at the advice of Louvois, in 1684 (the Dragonnades). At last, in 1685, came the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The net result of Madame de Maintenon's interference in religious affairs was that France lost some quarter of a million of her most industrious citizens by emigration, imprisonment, or confinement in the galleys.

Nothing perhaps illustrates better Louis' political ideals than the fact that, at the very moment he was putting into execution these repressive measures against the Huguenots, he was quarrelling with the pope. The quarrel arose over the question of the 'régale'; that is, the right of the crown to the enjoyment of the emoluments of a see during a vacancy. It developed into a question as to the con-

stitutional position of the Church, and culminated in an attempt on the part of Louis, like Henry VIII., to set up a National Church. Four resolutions were passed, in 1680 : (1), that sovereigns are not subject to the pope ; (2), that a General Council is superior to the pope ; (3), that the pope is bound by the regulations of the councils ; (4), that the pope is not infallible. The quarrel lasted for ten years, and ended in the withdrawal of the resolutions on the recognition by the Papacy of royal nominations.

Meanwhile, Louis was gradually absorbing by chicanery those provinces which he had not yet gained by war. He hit on the ingenious device of establishing *Chambres des Réunions*, or courts, to declare that the remainder of Alsace and Lorraine actually had been ceded to France. There was, no doubt, some sufficient pretext for an inquiry, as many towns had been surrendered 'with their dependencies.' But as these tribunals were purely French there could be no doubt as to their decisions, and all Alsace, Zweibrücken and Saarbrück were adjudged to France. Thereon Louis at once entered into military occupation of all these districts, including the important fortress of Strassburg. Meanwhile, the emperor was busily engaged in defending Vienna from the Turks, so on the same day that he occupied Strassburg Louis also seized Casale in Piedmont. Spain tried to resist his pretensions in Luxemburg, but after a short war was glad to assent to the Truce of Ratisbon (1684), whereby Louis was allowed to hold for twenty years all the possessions he had thus gained.

After the Truce of Ratisbon there followed four years of uneasy peace. The effect of revoking the Edict of Nantes was to disgust the Elector of Brandenburg and to irritate England. In Germany it began to be felt that the house of Bourbon was far more to be feared than the house of Hapsburg. When, in 1685, on the death, without heir, of

the elector palatine, Louis claimed the lower Palatinate for the late elector's sister, wife of Philip of Orleans, the Germans formed the League of Augsburg. Catholics as well as Protestants joined the league, and even the pope himself secretly gave adhesion to it. The object of the league was to watch over the political independence of Europe. The strange sight was then seen of Austria and Spain leagued together to protect liberty of conscience, while Louis was designing to aid James II. of England to establish a political and religious despotism such as he had himself set up in France. But James was never so faithful a henchman as his brother Charles had been. As early as 1677, at the time of the marriage of Mary to William of Orange, there had been friction between Louis and James. 'Nephew,' the grand monarch had said, 'remember that love and war do not agree well together.' Men said that Louis 'received the news of this marriage as he would have done the loss of an army.'

When James became king, though even more desirous than his brother of converting England to Catholicism, he determined to do so in his own manner. Louis took offence, and thought that by leaving him alone he would teach him a lesson. So, in 1688, by moving his troops to the Rhine to interfere in a disputed election to the archbishopric of Cologne, he brought on his head the League of Augsburg, and gave William the opportunity of invading England. He had never calculated that this would mean that James would lose his throne, for he had not realised how English opinion had changed since the days of Monmouth's Rebellion. Nothing more clearly displays his want of true capacity and insight than his decision at this moment, against all advice, to neglect the real issue for the sake of mere personal pique. He could not gauge the real greatness of William, who, when he heard of his decision, exclaimed, 'Aut nunc, aut nunquam.'

The war of the League of Augsburg thus lightly entered upon lasted ten years, and in the end Louis had to acknowledge that his own want of foresight had allowed his greatest enemy to join to the stadtholdership of Holland the crown of England. The struggle was marked by the ultimate success of the English and Dutch fleets over the French, and by a war of sieges in the Netherlands. On land France held her own. Her armies, trained in the great camps of instruction during peace time, even though led by second-class men like Villeroi and Boufflers, were able to hold their own against the combined Dutch and English forces under William, one of the keenest but most unfortunate of amateur soldiers. As the war dragged on, both sides began to long for peace. William was hampered by the English parliament, and the ill-health of Charles II. of Spain made it certain that Europe would soon be faced with the question of the Spanish succession. Louis urgently desired a few years of quiet to make ready for the great struggle which he knew would follow on Charles' death. The Peace of Ryswick (1698) was therefore only a breathing space. France surrendered everything she had captured since the Treaty of Nimeguen except Strassburg, allowed the Dutch to regarrison the barrier fortresses, and acknowledged William as King of England and Anne as his heir.

During the war of the League of Augsburg the last of the great pupils of Mazarin disappeared from the field. Colbert, the commercial genius, Louvois, the great military organiser, and Seignelay, the naval constructor, all died. But Louis did not at first appreciate their loss, so obsessed was he with the notion that he himself had done everything. His attitude is well illustrated when he selected Barbesieux, Louvois' son, to succeed to the War Office. Barbesieux pleaded his inexperience and youth, and told the king that the task was too great for

him, but the Grand Monarch merely replied: 'Do not distrust yourself; I formed your father and will form you.' The infatuated king had really no conception of the state of his kingdom. The continual wars had ruined both rich and poor. As Villeroi wrote at the time of the victories of Fleurus and Neerwinden—'the people perish of want to the sound of the *Te Deum*.' Again, in 1693, Fénelon said: 'France is only a large hospital desolate and without food.' Meanwhile, Louis continued to waste millions in erecting and keeping up his palaces at Versailles, Trianon and Marly, and to evolve plan after plan for adding to the glory of his house by seizing for one of his grandsons the crown of Spain.

Every statesman felt that the death of Charles II. of Spain would open up issues which could only be decided by war. For the Spanish empire was still so great that every power was in some way interested in it. There were three fairly strong claimants. First, the Dauphin through his mother, Maria Theresa, sister of Philip IV.; but she had renounced her claim under conditions, one of which being that a certain dowry should be paid, but this had never been done. Secondly, the Emperor Leopold, whose mother was a sister of Philip IV., and whose first wife was a younger daughter of that monarch. Neither his mother nor his wife had ever renounced her claim, and Leopold declared his second son Charles as his candidate. Thirdly, there was the young son of the Elector of Bavaria. The elector had married Maria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold, but at her marriage she had renounced her claim. Still, the electoral prince was really the most suitable candidate from all points of view. In fact he was the only one whose accession would not disturb 'the balance of power,' and Charles II. had caused a will to be made in his favour. Meanwhile, in 1698, Louis and William III. agreed to a Partition Treaty, whereby the electoral prince



was to succeed to Spain, the Spanish Netherlands and the Spanish possessions in the New World, but the Dauphin was to have the two Sicilies, the Tuscan Ports, and Guipuzcoa, while the archduke Charles was to have Milan. The Spanish king was furious at hearing of the proposed division, but before he could do anything the electoral prince died. Thereon Louis sent to Spain as his ambassador Harcourt, a master of intrigue, with the object of defeating the Austrian party who, relying on the queen, a Hapsburg, were striving to get the archduke Charles nominated as heir in place of the electoral prince. As a second string to his bow Louis opened fresh negotiations with William, and, in March 1700, concluded a second Partition Treaty, whereby the archduke was to have all that the former treaty had set aside for the electoral prince; while the Dauphin was, in addition to his former share, to have Milan, which he might exchange for Lorraine.

Harcourt, however, was successful in his efforts, and a month before he died Charles made a new will, leaving to the Duke of Anjou, Louis' younger grandson, the whole of the Spanish dominions. The news of Charles' death reached Versailles on November 9th, 1700. For a week Louis went through the farce of considering whether he should abide by his treaty or accept the will. Then, on November 16th, at a full levee, he pointed to the Duke of Anjou, saying, 'Gentlemen, there is the King of Spain. The Spanish crown is his by the right of birth, by the will of the late king, and by the unanimous wish of the entire nation. This is the will of God. I yield to it with pleasure.'

For the moment it seemed as if Louis was going to be allowed peaceably to enjoy what he had schemed for all his life, and what was so aptly expressed by the Spaniard Castel de Rios in the words, 'Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées : elles sont abîmées et nous ne sommes plus qu'un.' Philip

v. set out for his new dominions, and, in spite of murmurings, war might have been avoided. But Louis, with strange rashness, seemed to desire to challenge the whole of Europe. First he formally declared that the right of the Duke of Anjou to the French crown was in no way impaired; next, in 1701, he expelled the Dutch from the barrier fortresses; and then, in September of the same year, on the death of James II., he acknowledged the Elder Pretender as the rightful king of England. The emperor had no longer any difficulty in finding the allies he had been seeking; and in the winter, 1701-1702, the Grand Alliance was formed of the emperor, England, the Dutch, the King of Prussia, and the Grand Duke of Hesse, with the object of breaking up the Franco-Spanish empire, and giving Italy to the emperor and the Indies to the 'maritime powers.'

William III. died before the war broke out, but under the leadership of Marlborough and Eugène the allies gradually drove back the French armies. Blenheim, Ramillies and Oudenarde, for the moment, seemed to tame the spirit of the French. By 1709, Louis was glad to listen to terms of peace. But at the conference which met at The Hague, the allies, flushed with victory, demanded that he should aid them in turning his grandson out of Spain. This Louis proudly refused to do, and sympathy turned to his side. No one could help admiring the old king, who exclaimed, 'If I must fight I will fight my foes, not my children.' The battle of Malplaquet showed that Frenchmen could still fight. Meanwhile, the death of his elder brother made the archduke Charles the heir of the Austrian dominions, and a revolution in politics in England brought the Tories into power. So, in 1712, England withdrew from the Alliance, and Villeroi successfully drove back the Dutch and Imperialists in the Netherlands. Peace was at last established, in 1713, by the Treaties of Utrecht,

whereby France recognised the Protestant succession in England, ceded the barrier fortresses to the Dutch, while Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Netherlands fell to the emperor; and Philip, in return for renouncing all claims to the crown of France, was confirmed in the possession of Spain and the Spanish dominions in the New World.

The later years of the Wars of the Spanish Succession showed Louis at his best. With misfortunes thick around him he maintained a dignified and courageous attitude; neither the defeat of his armies nor his own personal sorrows could break down his dignity. Death seemed to have encircled his family in its arms. In April 1711, the Dauphin died, a man of no character or influence. Ten months later the Duchess of Burgundy followed her father-in-law to the grave, 'never princess so much regretted, never one so worthy of regret.' Within a few days of her death her husband, the Duke of Burgundy, the pupil of Fénelon, a prince of great promise, followed her to the grave, to be followed in turn by his elder boy, a child four years old, while the younger son Louis, Duke of Anjou, a baby in arms, only escaped by the most careful nursing. Meanwhile, the general wretchedness throughout France was appalling. 'France had been stripped to her shirt' before the War of the Spanish Succession began. As Vauban said: 'The peasant did not wear a crown's worth of clothing.' As the war proceeded houses fell down and there was nobody to rebuild them; cattle were so scarce that meat could not be procured; food riots broke out everywhere; and commerce disappeared. Nothing can describe the appalling state of the country, which we must remember was brought about by the purely dynastic policy of the crown. But what is a still graver indictment of Louis is the fact that, during these costly wars, in the midst of all the misery which surrounded him, the expenses of the court were in no way reduced. It seemed as if he

regarded any economy at court as a 'kind of sacrilege against the monarchy.'

Louis did not long survive the War of the Spanish Succession. He at last seemed to recognise the terrible burden he had enforced on his country. His remaining years were spent in peace, carefully watched over by his loving wife, Madame de Maintenon. On September 1st, 1715, he breathed his last, leaving his crown to his great grandson, the Duke of Anjou, providing a regency for him under the presidency of the Duke of Orleans. In his last advice to his successor he seemed to have recognised his own shortcomings, 'Never forget the obligations you owe to God. . . . Try to keep peace with your neighbours: I have been too fond of war: do not imitate me in that, nor in my too great expenditure.' Then turning to his domestics, 'Why weep? did you think me immortal?' To his courtiers he said, 'I pass away, but the state remains for ever. Continue faithful to it, and set an example to my other subjects.'

It is a commonplace nowadays to say that the French Revolution was the direct outcome of the reign of Louis XIV., and so, no doubt, in a sense it was. For by dispossessing the nobles of all political influence, by withdrawing them from the management of their estates and of local affairs, and compelling them to become mere popinjays at his court, he divorced them from their duties. At the same time he allowed them to retain their now meaningless and vexatious seigneurial rights and their immunity, to a great extent, from taxation, thus turning them into a useless and hateful caste. Moreover, by the system of centralisation whereby the 'parlements' gradually disappeared, and local self-government was superseded by the king's Intendants and their officers, he built up a bureaucracy which was absolutely out of sympathy with the people and their needs. So completely did the

administration of France become centralised that, as de Tocqueville points out, if a slate fell off the roof of a parish church, it could not be replaced till authority for so doing had been received from the king's council. But while Louis must have his share in the responsibility for the development of such a state of affairs, we must remember that he was only carrying out what the nation demanded. For we shall see later that the attempt of the revolution to decentralise the government was a failure, and that the restoration of what was really the old royal system of government, under a different name, by Napoleon was exceedingly popular. In a word Louis, like Henry VIII. of England, in his political and religious reforms merely expressed the desire of the nation at large.

In his memoirs the Grand Monarch has left behind him his conception of royalty. 'Kings,' he wrote, 'are absolute lords, and have by nature the full and free disposition of the property of all, alike that of the Church and of the laity. . . . Nothing establishes so surely the happiness and welfare of the country as the perfect union of all authority in the power of the sovereign. The least division works great evils. . . . The prince cannot allow his authority to be shared by others, without making himself responsible for the infinite disorder which ensues. . . . To receive the law from his people is the worst calamity that can befall one of our rank. The will of God is, that he who is born a subject should obey and make no question.' But, though Louis built up an imposing structure it had no foundation, for there was no strong healthy local self-government to reinforce the central power. The different elements of national life instead of becoming welded together sprang further and further apart, so that when the strain came, and popular discontent at last made itself felt, the whole edifice fell with a crash.

Yet he would have been a bold man who would have



foretold such a disaster at the time of the death of Louis ; for, in spite of everything, France still seemed the greatest power in Europe. Her language was the language of diplomacy at every court ; every sovereign, great or small, aimed at copying the splendid magnificence and etiquette of Versailles ; French literature from the pen of Corneille, Racine and Molière was the delight of every cultivated person in the world ; and although there were signs of decay in the drama, the pen of Voltaire was still to revolutionise European thought. In art and fashion France continued to lead the way. Her manufactures though drooping might easily have regained their predominance after a few years of peace. Her colonial possessions in America were the envy of the ' maritime powers,' and her army was still the pattern of all European forces in numbers, discipline, equipment and administration. In a word, granted that she had had a capable ruler, instead of the pleasure-loving Louis xv. and the dull, stupid Louis xvi., she might have been spared the horrors of the Revolution, and have been to this day the leading country of Europe.

We see then that Louis' reign was not of necessity the ruin of France. We turn now to discuss his character as a man, and here we must confess that, in spite of his dignity, his courtesy and his polished manners, he was as selfish in his private capacity as in his public. His courtiers and the leaders of his court might be dying of fatigue, but still the most minute ceremony must be performed, for he never could forget what he thought was due to his greatness. Yet even here we must remember that if he exacted the utmost farthing from those about him he never spared himself. ' We are not private persons,' he said, ' we owe our duties to the public.' As Michelet wrote : ' His ministers might change or die ; he, always the same, went through his duties, ceremonies,

royal fêtes, and the like with the regularity of the sun which he had chosen as his emblem.' With him as with Napoleon egotism had become a disease. He could not understand that a million of his subjects might refuse to change their religion at his command. His narrow, bigoted nature could not grasp the idea of toleration. His conception of his duty was self-aggrandisement. How strange it would have seemed to him if he had heard the exordium of his own funeral service preached by the famous orator Massillon: 'This great king, the terror of his neighbours, the amazement of the universe, the father of kings: this king greater than his great ancestor, more magnificent than Solomon in all his glory, has also learnt that all is vanity.'

## FREDERIC THE GREAT

THE eighteenth century is pre-eminently the age of the benevolent despot. Louis XIV. had taught the world the success that could be attained by a carefully centralised power holding in its hands all threads of domestic, foreign, naval, and military policy. But Louis XIV. had organised his state not for the good of his subjects, but to satisfy his dynastic aspirations.

With the eighteenth century we enter on a new phase of political thought. Voltaire, its great expounder, taught the sovereigns of Europe that they existed not so much for the glory of their families as for the good of their people. His works were studied far and wide, and at one time or another his pupils sat on nearly every throne in Europe. Amongst those who most eagerly tried to carry out his theories were Charles III. of Spain, the Emperor Joseph II., Frederic II. of Prussia, and Catherine II. of Russia. But we must remember, firstly, that while all these sovereigns were bent on securing the prosperity and good government of their subjects, their motto was government for the people, and they would have raised their hands in horror at the thought of government by the people; secondly, that in nearly every country in Europe, except in France, the peasants had not yet emerged from serfdom; and, thirdly, that to secure the 'balance of power' it was an every day political contrivance to transfer a province or country, from one power to another, without in the least degree consulting the wishes of the inhabitants.

We remember that the War of the Spanish Succession was fought to prevent the amalgamation of France and Spain, because in the view of the other powers such a combination would have spoiled the 'balance of power,' which oscillated between the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs. The whole of the energy of the diplomatic world for the twenty-five years which followed the death of Louis XIV. was concentrated on preventing Elizabeth Farnese, the ambitious wife of the King of Spain, from upsetting the balance established by the Treaty of Utrecht. There were three other disturbing factors in the situation. First, the constant friction between England and Spain over trade questions in the West Indies. Secondly, the unfortunate circumstance that the Emperor Charles VI. had no male heir, and that in spite of the adherence of most of the powers to the Law (the Pragmatic Sanction) which he promulgated, whereby the possession of the Austrian dominions was to pass to his daughter Maria Theresa, it was very doubtful whether the other claimants would acquiesce in this decision. Thirdly, there was the fact that, under Peter the Great and his successors, Russia was gradually forcing her way westwards at the expense of her neighbours, Sweden and Poland. But, up to the last moment, there was not a single diplomatist who could have foretold that it was the King of Prussia who would light the match which set Europe in a blaze, and proclaimed to the world that the hegemony of Germany was passing from the Hapsburgs to the house of Hohenzollern.

The nucleus of the kingdom of Prussia was the Mark of Brandenburg. In 928, the emperor, Henry the Fowler, captured the fortress of Brannibor and established there a Margrave or Warden of the Marches. By the middle of the twelfth century, thanks to the Margrave Albert the Bear (died 1170), the rulers of Brandenburg had success-

fully crushed the heathen Wends, and in the thirteenth century the then margrave became one of the electors (Kurfürst) of the Holy Roman Empire. As we remember, about the time of the Emperor Charles IV. the Ascanian branch died out, and the electorate fell into the hands of the Luxemburghs. But Charles' successor, Sigismund, made it over to the Hohenzollern Burgrave of Nuremberg, whose relatives were margraves of Culmbach, which included Anspach and Baireuth. One of the Culmbach Hohenzollerns was Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, and by the advice of Luther put an end to his order and did homage to the King of Poland for the duchy of East Prussia. The duchy, in 1568, became hereditary in the Culmbach family, and, by a family agreement, on the failure of his line, in 1618, it fell to Joachim II., the Elector of Brandenburg. Then Joachim himself made an agreement with the Duke of Liegnitz, whereby if either the Brandenburg line or the Liegnitz line failed, the surviving line should combine both countries. By a sixteenth-century marriage the Hohenzollerns also had a claim to Cleve, Jülich and Berg.

We have seen how, during the Thirty Years' War, George William of Brandenburg tried to remain neutral, with the result that he lost Pomerania, and both parties at times overran his country. He was succeeded, in 1640, by his son Frederic William, the Great Elector, a prince of much greater force of character. He set on foot a standing army, recaptured a large part of Pomerania, and rearranged his territories and the administration of his domains, with such success, that his son Frederic was rich and strong enough to demand from the emperor (1701), in return for his aid in the Spanish Succession Wars, the title of King of Prussia. King Frederic lost a great opportunity when he failed to make any real use of the collapse of the Swedish power after the battle of Poltava (1709), when the Russians



completely destroyed the armies of Charles XII. But in spite of his participation in the War of the Spanish Succession, and of his great ostentation, the population of his states increased, and the revenue doubled during his reign.

His son Frederic William, who succeeded him, in 1713, was his exact opposite: with him parsimony was a craze, his only extravagance being the purchase of giants to fill the ranks of his grenadiers. Under him Prussia soon began to experience the benefits that a country gains from a first-class administrator. Like his predecessor, Frederic William recognised that without the army the scattered possessions of the Prussian king, so surrounded by enemies and liable to invasion, could never be kept together. He also knew full well that unless the country was prosperous and the population grew, it would be impossible to maintain such an army. 'If the country is thickly populated that is true wealth,' he wrote in his instructions for the guidance of his successor. He pointed out that if the government protected the industries of the country, 'then you will see how your revenues increase and your land prospers.' Again he added, 'A country without industries is a human body without life, a dead country . . . therefore I beg you, my dear successor, maintain the industries, protect them, and tend their growth.' With these objects in view the king reorganised the whole of the administration, established at Berlin a General Directory as a central administrative department for all matters of finance, war, and the administration of the royal estates. The General Directory had subsidiary administrative bodies responsible to it in each province, beneath which were Councillors of Taxes for particular towns or groups of towns. Such was the nucleus of the bureaucracy which governed Prussia till the battle of Jena. It was so omnipotent that not a single municipal

officer could be appointed without the authority of the Grand Directory, nor a single groschen spent by any local body without the authority of one of the Councillors of Taxes. The result of these reforms was that by the end of the reign the army had grown from 38,000 to 84,000; the revenue had doubled; the population, thanks to state-aided immigration, had increased to five million; and at his death the king left a war reserve in cash of ten million thalers.

Frederic II. of Prussia, better known as Frederic the Great, was born on January 24th, 1712. Unfortunately for his peace of mind during his younger years, he had inherited the temperament of his grandmother, Sophie Charlotte, the friend of Leibnitz. From an early age his delight in music and speculative philosophy grated against the hard Calvinistic nature of his father, Frederic William, in whose eyes plays, operas, ballets, masquerades and fancy balls, as likewise excess in eating and drinking, were ungodly and of the devil. The king set himself to crush his son's vivacity, and from his seventh year subjected him to an iron course of discipline. From the moment the boy rose at six in the morning till half-past ten at night—when he must be in bed—every moment of the day and the week was carefully planned out: the words of his prayers, the length of time for changing his clothes, whether he should wash his face with soap or not, nothing was overlooked. Religion, morality, writing in German, the study of maps and geography, arithmetic, the writing of French, 'a little getting by heart of something, to strengthen the memory,' such was the prescribed course. Music and philosophy could only be acquired by stealth in moments set apart for recreation. Latin was anathema. Once the king found one of the tutors reading the Golden Bull to his son in Latin. The tutor explained what he was doing, but in spite of this the king rushed at him, swinging his

cane, shouting out, 'I'll Golden Bull you, you rascal,' and the unfortunate man fled from the room to save his skin. The whole object of this system of education was to harden the boy into a soldier, and for this reason a company of young nobles was formed for him to drill, and much of his time was occupied with military tutors and on the parade ground.

As the young Frederic grew up the want of sympathy between him and his father deepened into active hatred. Frederic was extremely sensitive, and if it had not been for the love of his mother and of his sister Wilhelmina his spirit would have been completely crushed by his coarse, unfeeling father, for, as he said of himself, he was 'a man with more sensibility than other men.' When he was about eighteen his father one day in a rage tried to strangle him with a window cord. About the same time he tried to force him to resign his position as heir-apparent; but he refused with spirit—'No! unless your majesty is prepared to deny the honour of my mother.' Life under such conditions became so unbearable that Frederic, while on a tour through Germany, determined to escape to England. Unfortunately his design was discovered, and he and his friend, Lieutenant Katte, were arrested. In his fury Frederic William had them both tried by court-martial as deserters from the army. The court, composed of the king's particular cronies, sentenced the crown prince to death and Katte to perpetual imprisonment. But the king overrode their sentence, and decreed that Katte also should die. It was only by the intervention of the emperor that the young prince was at last spared, but with a refinement of cruelty Frederic William compelled him to witness the execution of his friend.

The old madman prayed for his son 'that his godless heart may be beaten till it is softened and changed, and he be snatched from the claws of Satan.' He continued

to play the part of providence, banishing Frederic to Cüstrin, where, dispossessed of his military rank, he was set to learn practical economics as a member of the Board for Managing Domain Lands. He was not allowed to return to court for a year, and when he did so his sister Wilhelmina, who had been married three days previously, found him completely changed. His vivacity was gone; he was no longer the warm, affectionate brother of old times, but a cold, self-contained man, critical and calculating, determined to give just so much obedience to his father as should prevent another such outbreak, but otherwise set on pursuing his own way. He bowed to his father's will by marrying, in June 1732, the Princess of Brunswick-Bevern, but thereafter practically never saw the unfortunate lady. He spent all the time he could spare from his military duties at his country residence at Rheinsberg, where with a select body of friends he played the flute, talked philosophy, and corresponded with Voltaire.

The key to Frederic William's foreign policy was obedience to the emperor and the maintenance of the integrity of the empire. But in spite of his loyal support on all occasions, the Kaiser simply made use of him; and, in 1738, on the approaching extinction of the Neuburg line in Jülich and Berg, instead of helping the Prussian king to gain these provinces as he had promised, he joined the coalition against him. From this blow Frederic William never recovered. Speaking of the emperor he said, 'That was the man who killed me. Then and there I got my death.' Then pointing to his son he exclaimed, 'There stands one who will avenge me.' On May 31st, 1740, Frederic William died, and on October 20th of the same year the Emperor Charles VI. breathed his last. Two months later Europe entered on a period of twenty years of practically continuous war, in which Prussia challenged Austria for the leadership of Germany, England fought

France for the domination of North America and India, and Russia made good her pretensions to be classed among the great European powers.

Frederic II. was in his thirty-eighth year when he succeeded to the throne. 'He was below the middle height, rather handsome, with oval, aquiline face, and blue-grey eyes of extraordinary vivacity.' The diplomatists of the day expected little from him; they merely knew that he spent his time corresponding with Voltaire, and that he had written a book called the *Antimachiavel*, in which he poured contempt on the lying, corruption, and chicanery of the courts of Europe, and laid down that a king should be 'the born servant of his people.' Beyond this they were aware he was reputed to care little for soldiering, although, in 1734, he had accompanied the Prussian contingent of the Imperial army in the War of the Polish Succession, and had been present under Eugène at the siege of Philipsburg.

No sooner had Frederic ascended the throne than people began to see that they had formed a wrong estimate of him. He at once announced, 'Our great care will be to further the country's well-being, and to make every one of our subjects happy and contented,' and within a week he had established the liberty of the Press, abolished torture, and made plans for the development of the Academy of Science. He next proceeded to disband the regiments of giants, but at the same time he increased the army by 16,000 men, bringing it up to the strength of 100,000. He soon showed that he knew how to use his power. The bishop of Liège had long claimed the district of Herstal, and refused to listen to the demands of Frederic William, who was willing to sell it to him. Frederic at once despatched 2000 men, quartered them on the bishop's territory, and raised the price of Herstal from 100,000 to 240,000 thalers.



The Herstal incident was barely closed when the emperor passed away, and a week later Anne, the capable Czarina of Russia, died also. At Berlin the usual winter gaieties had begun, and Voltaire was there enjoying the homage of his royal protégé. But Frederic, while appearing to care for nothing but pleasure, had already determined that this was the opportunity for avenging his father's death, and of gaining for Prussia the rich province of Silesia. England was engaged in war with Spain, and would not be able to spare much aid to Hanover; the death of the Czarina had thrown Russia into confusion; France was always glad to weaken the power of the Hapsburgs; Sweden was at the moment friendly with Prussia; and Austria was weak from the effects of the late Turkish war, and owing to the revolt of the Hungarians. Lastly, there was the glory to be gained by successful war, for as he himself confessed in his *Memoirs*, 'Ambition, interest, and the desire of making people talk about me, carried the day: and I decided for war.'

On the morning of December 13th, Frederic left a ball at the palace, and stepped into his carriage to join his army which, under the pretext of manœuvres, had been massed on the frontier of Silesia. He had already despatched a courier with a letter to Maria Theresa, offering to accept a part of Silesia in return for defending her title to the rest of the Hapsburg possessions, and of helping her husband Francis of Tuscany to gain the Imperial crown. In spite of Frederic's lack of military experience and strategic mistakes, the Austrians were completely surprised, and hurriedly evacuated the whole of Silesia, with the exception of one or two fortresses. It was not till April 1741, that they were ready to take the field against the Prussians. On the tenth of that month was fought the battle of Mollwitz, where, after initial disaster, the Prussian infantry retrieved the day, owing to

their own stubbornness, not to any generalship on the part of their leaders. Indeed, after the preliminary rout of his cavalry, Frederic, listening to the advice of his field-marshal Schwerin, had ridden off for safety. The strain of three sleepless nights and the responsibility of command were too great for his nerves—a striking commentary on the fact that the soldier's trade is one which needs a sound apprenticeship.

The battle of Mollwitz had far-reaching effects. France had been ruled for many years by Cardinal Fleury, Louis xv.'s old tutor, whose only desire was for peace. But the disclosure of the weakness of Austria brought to the front the war-party headed by the Count de Belleisle, grandson of Richelieu's Fouquet. At the time of the battle of Mollwitz this brilliant and unscrupulous nobleman was in Germany, entrusted with the business of securing the Imperial throne for the Elector of Bavaria, the French candidate. Frederic's victory gave Belleisle his opportunity. He had long been intriguing to form a league to include France, Prussia, Spain, Bavaria, Sweden and Saxony, with the object of dismembering Austria and dividing Germany into several equal kingdoms incapable of withstanding France, whereon France was to absorb the Netherlands and become the arbiter of Europe. For the moment it seemed as if he was to be entirely successful, for Bavaria, Sweden, Saxony and Prussia entered into a compact with France.

But Frederic's only aim in joining the coalition was to secure for himself Silesia: otherwise he had no desire to see the Hapsburgs humiliated. Accordingly, on October 9th, he made a secret treaty with Austria at Klein-Schnellendorf, whereby, in return for the cession of the fortresses of Glatz and Neisse, and the definite promise of Silesia, he engaged to withdraw from the war. Maria Theresa hated making terms with her enemy, but, in spite

of the magnificent efforts of the Hungarians, she was hard pressed. The Bavarians and French had seized Linz and were threatening Vienna. The withdrawal of the Prussian troops resulted in such immediate success for the Austrians that Frederic was afraid that, having once secured her dominions, Maria Theresa might refuse to allow him to retain Silesia. Accordingly, on November 1st, the day on which he got possession of Neisse, in the most shameless way, on the pretext that the Austrians had made public the secret treaty, he made a fresh agreement with Saxony and Bavaria for the dismemberment of Austria, and once again entered on the war. Six months later, after beating the Austrians at Chotusitz, on Maria Theresa once again promising to guarantee him Silesia, he for the second time deserted his allies, and, on July 28th, made a definite treaty of peace with Maria Theresa. All that can be said about Frederic's conduct is that he was a pure opportunist: he was absolutely convinced of the necessity of extending his dominions by the incorporation of the rich province of Silesia, and as long as he could do so he did not care what methods he employed.

From Berlin, where he was busily engaged in taking measures to incorporate his newly-won province, to strengthen his fortresses and to reorganise his army, especially the cavalry, which after the artillery was the weakest arm in his service, Frederic kept a careful eye on European politics. He was ready to enter the field at once if he saw it was likely to be to his advantage, for as Voltaire said of him, 'Princes nowadays ruin themselves by war, Frederic enriched himself by it.' By the beginning of 1744, Maria Theresa's arms were everywhere successful: Bavaria was overrun, and the Austrian troops were preparing to cross the Rhine to attack their old enemy the French; in addition to this, by the treaty of Worms (September 1743) Austria had gained powerful

allies in Sardinia and England. Frederic thought it was time to stop her victorious career; he was afraid that she might absorb Bavaria, and after making peace with France turn her arms against himself. Accordingly, in May 1744, he induced the Emperor Charles VII., as representing Bavaria, the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, to form the Union of Frankfort with the object of maintaining the integrity of the empire and forcing Austria to make peace.

Two months later he suddenly declared war and attempted, by invading southern Bohemia, to cut the communications of the Austrian armies on the Rhine. His strategy was bad, and it was thanks entirely to his tactics on the battlefield, whereby he won, in 1745, the battles of Hohenfriedberg, Sohr and Hennersdorf, that he saved Silesia. On the death of the Emperor Charles VII. (January 1745) Maria Theresa made peace with Bavaria, and a few months later entered into the Treaty of Warsaw with Saxony for the partition of Prussia. But Frederic's victories, and the defeat of the Saxons by the Prince of Dessau at Kesselsdorf (December 1745), proved to her that the task was impossible; and a treaty was signed at Dresden whereby Austria once again ceded Silesia, while Frederic recognised Francis of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's husband, as emperor. But this did not bring universal peace to Europe, for Austria was still struggling for the predominance in Italy, and by now, from being seconds France and England had become principals, and were busily engaged in military promenades in the Netherlands and in guerilla warfare in America.

The first six years of his reign had done much to alter Frederic's character. The French ambassador thought he was more mild, humane and modest. But Frederic had not changed his aims. 'I will maintain my power, or it may go to ruin, and the Prussian name be buried

under it.' This was the keynote of his policy. But provided his dominions were not threatened he preferred peace to war. Accordingly, after signing the Treaty of Dresden he looked forward to a time of peace, during which he might discuss philosophy with his friends at his new cottage of Sans Souci, and play the benevolent despot by reorganising the judicial procedure throughout his dominions, and increasing the economic prosperity of his country at large. His first step was to entrust Cocceji with the duty of so arranging legal affairs that every lawsuit might be begun and finished within a year, by getting rid of attorneys, and weeding out unsuitable judges and advocates. His idea of law was not to fulfil forms but to get right done. Of what was right he considered himself the best judge. A certain dancer, Barbarina, was engaged to come from Venice to Berlin. The lady failed to put in an appearance, and, in spite of Frederic's letters, the Doge refused to take steps to compel her to fulfil her contract. Accordingly, Frederic arrested a Venetian ambassador who was passing through Berlin, and kept him in confinement till the Venetian authorities sent off Barbarina. Again, England had agreed that only certain articles were to be considered contraband of war; in spite of this she seized Prussian ships carrying no contraband articles. The dispute dragged on for some years. At last Frederic gained his point by notifying the English government that he would not pay the English holders of Silesian bonds, until compensation had been granted for the captured ships and cargoes.

In July 1750, an event occurred which Frederic had long and eagerly desired, for in that month Voltaire arrived in Berlin, tempted by a promise of £850 a year, the Cross of Merit, and the post of chamberlain. But a few months proved that the brilliant, witty, egotistical philosopher was out of place at a court where mediocrity alone could



flourish under Frederic's despotic control. Voltaire could not resist the temptation of making fun of the would-be philosophers and sciolists whom the king had gathered round him. Frederic was quite ready to laugh at Maupertuis and others in private, but he would not have his pet academy exposed to the ridicule of the world at large. But Voltaire could not endure that his work should be kept private, and in spite of prohibition published *Doctor Akakia*, a withering skit which made the academy of Berlin the laughing stock of Europe. Frederic at once banished him from Potsdam; and, not content, stooping to petty spite, had him arrested and kept in discomfort at Frankfort under the pretext that he had taken away a book of his poems and the cross of the chamberlain.

Scarcely had Voltaire left when Frederic found himself faced by a serious problem. Austria desired to regain Silesia; Saxony, whose elector was also King of Poland, and Russia were both afraid that Frederic might attempt to gain territory at their expense. Moreover, the Czarina Elizabeth was furious with him for calling her '*l'infâme catin du nord.*' In 1753, his spies had discovered that a league was being formed by these three powers to dismember his kingdom. Meanwhile, it was becoming obvious that a great war was about to break out between England and France for the dominion of America and of India. Frederic was well aware that his enemies would seize this occasion to attack him. He accordingly had to choose between alliance with France or England. But he had already alienated the dictator of French policy, Madame de Pompadour; for, unlike Maria Theresa, who from motives of policy addressed her as '*ma cousine,*' he had spoken of her in slighting terms, adding '*Je ne la connais pas.*' But, on the other hand, England had practically no army; in 1755, there were only three battalions available for service abroad, and Newcastle refused to raise others,

since the patronage would fall into the hands of his enemy the Duke of Cumberland. Still England had bargained with Russia for 55,000 men to defend Hanover. Accordingly, in 1756, Frederic determined to ally himself with England, hoping that she would have influence enough with her ally Russia to prevent her from attacking him. Unfortunately, the Czarina preferred revenge on her personal foe to English subsidies, while the result of the Convention of Westminster between Frederic and England was to drive Austria into the arms of France.

During the early summer of 1756, every power in Europe was hastily completing its armaments. The French were ready first, and in June seized Minorca, which was one of the English naval bases in the Mediterranean. Frederic, seeing that war was now inevitable and having completed his mobilisation, determined to seize the initiative. On Austria refusing to reply as to whether her armaments were designed against Prussia, he launched his forces on Saxony, and thus commenced the Seven Years' War. The result of the first campaign was that the Saxon army was forced to capitulate at Pirna and was embodied in the Prussian army. The whole of Saxony was occupied by Prussia, and her revenues and resources were used to support the Prussian army. But in spite of the fact that Frederic seized at Dresden copies of the secret treaty between Saxony, Austria and Russia for the partition of Prussia, his action was regarded as a distinct attempt to disintegrate the empire. Austria, Russia, France, Sweden, and the emperor resolved to take up arms and not lay them down till Prussia was dismembered. On his side Frederic had but one ally, England, who pledged herself to maintain 'a British army of observation' in Hanover 50,000 strong. He himself could put into the field some 150,000 men, and garrisons to the extent of 40,000, but the whole population of his dominions was a bare five million, and his

revenue less than two million sterling. He had also a war hoard of perhaps three and a half million. Thus his total force including his allies was about 240,000, as against the 430,000 men of the field armies which his enemies were gathering together, backed by the resources of practically the whole of the continent.

Under these circumstances the essence of Frederic's strategy was to prevent the junction of his enemies. The Swedes were never really dangerous; they invariably issued too late in the year from Pomerania to effect anything. Accordingly, Frederic started the campaign of 1757, by a concentric invasion of Bohemia, with the object of seizing the great arsenal of Prague, and if possible of sweeping up the other magazines in Bohemia before the Austrian mobilisation was complete. The task was too great for him, and although he won a battle outside Prague, he failed to capture that city before the arrival of the relieving army under Marshal Daun. Then instead of raising the siege and concentrating his strength against the relieving force, he merely reinforced his covering army and consequently suffered a crushing defeat at Kolin on June 18th, with the result that he had to raise the siege of Prague and fall back into Silesia. Fortunately the Russians, although they defeated a Prussian force at Gross Jägersdorf, never emerged from Poland. The French, after defeating the Hanoverian army under Cumberland, were able by the autumn to stretch forward a hand to help the Austrians in the direction of the Saale. Frederic left his brother to watch the Austrians, and after weeks of hard marching and manœuvring tempted the French to attack him at Rossbach, where by his masterly tactics he completely defeated them. Thereafter hurrying back to Silesia, where Daun had made good headway and even captured Breslau, he surprised 50,000 Austrians at Leuthen, and with 30,000 men all but annihilated them.

Rosbach had far-reaching effects. In England Frederic was greeted as the Protestant champion. Pitt, who had now come into power, made a new treaty with the king, guaranteed him an annual subsidy of £670,000 and a British-Hanoverian army of 50,000, to be commanded by Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of Frederic's generals. With his right flank thus secured for the remainder of the war, Frederic was mainly engaged in keeping the Austrians and Russians apart. The campaign of 1758 was on the whole unfortunate, Frederic's attempt to surprise the enemy failing before the fortress of Olmütz in Moravia. Still, he was successful in his main object of preventing the junction of the Austrians and Russians, and in August he defeated the latter at Zorndorf. In October, however, he suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Daun at Hochkirch, from despising his enemy and not taking proper precautions against surprise. The next year, 1759, he was so weak that he could no longer assume the offensive on a large scale, and 18,000 Austrian cavalry were able to join hands with the Russians. It was this Austrian reinforcement under Loudon which caused his defeat at Kunersdorf (August 13th, 1759) by the Russians. Fortunately, there was no feeling of confidence between the Austrian and Russian commanders; instead of hastening to form a junction they manœuvred apart in a leisurely way, and Frederic was able once again to interpose between them. The campaign of 1760 was one of the most famous in history, for, in August, Frederic, surrounded by three Austrian armies and one Russian, out-marched and out-manœuvred them all and ultimately defeated Loudon, the best of the Austrian generals, at Liegnitz (August 1760). During the campaigning season of 1761 Frederic lay in Silesia opposed by his old enemy Loudon, who more than once got the better of him. If the Russians had only co-operated nothing could have saved the king, but

luckily it was well known that the Czarina Elizabeth could not live long, and that Peter her heir was an enthusiastic admirer of the Prussian king: so the Russian commanders were afraid to press their advantage. In spite of this, Frederic's cause seemed desperate, for George III. had displaced Pitt and put Bute at the head of the government, and Bute's one idea was to make peace. Fortunately, however, the Czarina died, in January 1762, and Russia made peace with Prussia in May, an example which Sweden soon followed. During the summer the now allied Russian and Prussian armies opposed the Austrians in Silesia, and although Peter III. was deposed by Catherine II., on July 8th, and the Russian troops were recalled, still Frederic persuaded them to remain long enough for him to defeat the Austrians at Bukersdorf. Austria now saw that there was nothing for it but to bow to the inevitable, and, in February 1763, the war came to an end by the treaty of Hubertsburg, whereby in return for the Austrians evacuating Glatz, Frederic restored Saxony to its elector, and by a secret clause promised to help Joseph, Maria Theresa's son, to become King of the Romans.

The hard work, exposure, and strain of this terrible war left their permanent mark on Frederic. As early as 1760 he wrote to a friend, 'All this has made me so old that you would hardly know me again. On the right side of my head the hair is all grey: my teeth break and fall out: my face is wrinkled like a petticoat: my back bent like the bow of a saddle: my spirit cast down like a monk of La Trappe.' All through the war he had carried poison with him to end his life rather than fall into the hands of his enemies; and on several occasions, notably after his crushing defeat at Kunersdorf, he had been tempted to end his misfortunes. At other times he had felt that, perhaps if he resigned his throne in favour of his brother Henry, his enemies might spare his country. But always



in the end he conquered these weaknesses. True it is that the Prussian discipline was terrible, enforced by stick and bullet ; but his men loved ' unser Fritz,' as they called the king, and year after year he inspired devotion and courage into veteran and recruit alike, for, as Jomini says, commenting on the performance of the Prussians, ' the goodness of troops depends upon the genius which knows how to create motives of enthusiasm.'

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Hubertsburg Frederic returned to Berlin, and commenced taking measures to restore the ravages of the war. Thanks to his marvellous administration, he still had nominally some fourteen and a half million thalers in the treasury, although this was composed of debased money. Meanwhile, reports were received showing that whole districts were ravaged, towns ruined and burnt, and the fields nearly everywhere unsown ; seventy thousand horses were necessary for farm purposes ; and the population had fallen to about four millions. Frederic at once began to make advances to the farmers ; money, seed, corn and horses were granted free of payment. The artillery horses were sent to the plough, land banks were established in Silesia under state guarantee for mortgages at a very low rate of interest, and steps were taken to restore the value of the currency. Frederic came to the conclusion that the best way to put down smuggling and increase his revenue was to employ French revenue officers. In 1766, he appointed de Launay chief superintendent of finances. Severe though the Prussian taxes were, Frederic was always ready to come to the aid of his people when any real distress arose. During the famine of 1770-1774, by wise administration the price of bread in Prussia never rose to the abnormal height it did elsewhere. In fact, more than 40,000 Saxons and Bohemians emigrated into Prussia during those years. Frederic's system was successful, because he followed the

rule which he had himself laid down in his testament of 1768: 'With regard to the price of corn, it is incumbent on the ruler to lay down a hard and fast line, striking the mean between the interests of the noble, the farmer of corn lands, and the peasant on the one side, and the interest of the soldier and the working man on the other.' Hence it was that under de Launay's administration the taxes on pork and rye bread were abolished, and the king refused to put a tax on butcher's meat, for he said, 'I am by my office advocate of the poor and the soldier, and I have to plead their cause.'

While thus deeply absorbed in obliterating the traces of the late war, the king kept a careful eye on European politics. From England he knew he could look for little help in the future. Yet it was necessary that he should have an ally against the machinations of his life-long foe Austria. He accordingly set himself to bring about a rapprochement between his country and Russia. Frederic was shrewd enough to see that, under the capable hands of Catherine II., Russia was on the eve of vast expansion. By pushing back the Turks from the Sea of Azof and the Black Sea, and thus creeping down towards the mouths of the Danube, she was delivering a stunning blow at Turkey, and would arouse the jealousy of Austria. In the north on the Baltic, as she pushed westwards into Finland, she naturally found herself opposed by her old enemy Sweden. Between Russia, Austria and Prussia lay the ancient kingdom of Poland, fallen from its high estate. For two hundred years, since the extinction of the Jagellon line, the crown of Poland had been elective. Poland had become the storm-centre of European intrigue: all the great powers had their agents in the country ready to try and buy the crown for their own nominee. During the eighteenth century two electors of Saxony had been kings of Poland; but the second Saxon king had only gained

his crown, in 1734, thanks to the exertions of Austria who had espoused his cause against Stanislaus Leszczyński, the father of Louis xv.'s bride, in the War of the Polish Succession. In 1763, Frederic Augustus II. of Poland died: Austria desired that his son should be elected as his successor. But while it was the policy of Austria that Poland should be strong, a weak Poland was the desire of both Russia and Prussia, who aimed at the absorption of that country. Accordingly, in 1764, Catherine was glad to accept Frederic's overtures and to form an alliance with Prussia, by means of which her nominee Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Polish prince absolutely dependent upon Russia, became king. A religious civil war between the Roman Catholics and the orthodox churchmen, which followed Poniatowski's election, gave the Czarina an opportunity for further interference in Polish politics.

Such was the state of affairs in Poland when, in 1768, war broke out between Russia and Turkey. By their treaties of alliance Prussia was bound to help Russia and France and Austria to help Turkey: but Frederic had no desire to reopen a European war. 'We are Germans,' he said, 'what does it matter to us if the English and French fight for Canada and the American islands, or if Paoli gives the French plenty to do in Corsica, or if Turks and Russians seize one another by the hair?' Austria and France were equally desirous of avoiding war, and were delighted to find 'The Ogre of Potsdam' in so amiable a mood. Two meetings took place between Frederic and Joseph, Maria Theresa's son: the second at Neustadt, in September 1770, was also attended by Kaunitz, the great Austrian minister who had arranged the alliance with France which preceded the Seven Years' War. He told Frederic that, if the Muscovite troops crossed the Danube, Austria would make war: further, that she would allow no dismemberment of Turkey.

The problem Frederic had to solve was how to bring the war to an end, and at the same time to find some 'satisfaction' for Russia. The key to the puzzle came from Catherine, who suggested a partition of Poland. Austria had already seized a small strip of territory called the Zips, on the pretence it was hers: so the conspirators were able to meet her outcries by replying that she had begun the game of grab. Maria Theresa was scandalised, but Joseph and Kaunitz overruled her, while Frederic jeered at her with the words, 'Elle pleurait toujours mais elle prenait toujours.' By the first partition of Poland, in 1771, Austria gained the Zips and all Red Russia; Russia annexed the Polish territory between the Dwina, the Dnieper and the Dniester; while Prussia got Polish Prussia, that is, the palatinates of Pomerelia, Culm and Marienburg, with the exception of Dantzic and Thorn: thus East Prussia was definitely linked up with the rest of the kingdom, and Frederic was able to expand his army from 160,000 to 186,000 men. Morally, there is no plea that can be offered for Frederic's conduct; like nearly all his political actions, all that can be said is that he considered it would be good for his country, and therefore he did it. But, while for the moment this increase in population and wealth benefited Prussia, ultimately it reacted to her disadvantage; for the partition of Poland was the precedent following which, thirty years later, Napoleon first broke up the Holy Roman Empire and then dismembered both Austria and Prussia.

Frederic found plenty to do in reorganising his new territory. He had acquired some 9000 square miles with a population of half a million souls. It was a desolate war-scarred land. Of forty houses in the town of Culm, twenty-eight had no doors, windows, roofs, or ovens; and Culm was typical of nearly every other town. Bread was unknown; few villages had an oven. Frederic threw him-

self into the work. The towns were rebuilt ; immigration encouraged ; manufactories established ; communication opened up (notably a canal joining the Vistula and the Oder) ; and sturdy German farmers granted farms and the means to stock them. While thus engaged the king was disgusted, in 1777, to find himself once again on the brink of war. The Bavarian branch of the Wittelsbachs died out in that year, and Joseph II. of Austria persuaded Charles Theodore, the elector Palatine, the representative of the elder branch, to sign an agreement whereby Bavaria was to fall to the Hapsburgs. But Charles Augustus, Duke of Zweibrücken, heir to the Palatinate, refused to ratify this compact. Frederic, remembering Joseph's ambition, and how on the report of his own death, in 1775, he had prepared to march into Brandenburg, espoused the cause of the Duke of Zweibrücken. The summer of 1778 saw the king once again at the head of his armies invading Bohemia. But he had no real desire for war : he only wished to compel Joseph to evacuate Bavaria. France, who was anxious to interfere in the American War of Independence against her old enemy England, and Russia, who desired to extend her territories at the expense of Poland and Turkey, intervened to prevent a European war ; so Joseph gave in, and the so-called Potato War came to an end.

In November 1781, Maria Theresa breathed her last, and Joseph, now unfettered, gave rein to his designs for the reform and aggrandisement of his house. Unfortunately, as Frederic said of him, he always took the second step before the first ; and, sound as many of his ideas were, he invariably raised against all his actions the strongest opposition. Still, it became clear that his ultimate aim was the restoration of the Hapsburg supremacy in Germany. In January 1785, Charles of Zweibrücken was able to inform Frederic that Joseph had proposed to him to



accept the Netherlands in exchange for Bavaria. As soon as the news became public all Germany was alarmed, and Frederic immediately sketched out a Confederation of Princes (Fürstenbund). Saxony, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Saxe-Weimar, Gotha, Zweibrücken, Anhalt, Mecklenburg, Baden, and others joined the league, whose object was to maintain the constitution of Germany as settled by the Peace of Westphalia. Whether, if Frederic had lived, the result of this league would have been to have transferred the Imperial sceptre from the house of Hapsburg to the Hohenzollerns, it is impossible to say, for the old king breathed his last on August 17th, 1786.

It has often been said of Prussia that her history is the history of her kings, and of none of them is it truer than of Frederic the Great. He was by education, environment, and instinct a worker and a ruler. From the moment he became king to the day of his death, his first thought was his duty to his state. At four every morning he was roused, the soldier who called him being instructed to place a cold wet towel on his face if he did not wake up at once. Thereafter he dressed hurriedly, putting on his military top boots, never allowing himself the comfort of slippers. Only once a year did he discard his boots, when in full court dress he went to congratulate his wife on her birthday. From a quarter past four till eight o'clock he waded through his correspondence: to check his subordinates, all postmasters had orders to send daily a list of any letters addressed to him which passed through their hands. About eight he breakfasted, dictating meanwhile any answers he particularly desired; from nine till ten he did military business with his aide-de-camp; from ten to twelve he devoted himself to literary work, science, and his private correspondence. At twelve he dined; by nature a gourmand, he had a set of cooks of different nationalities to prepare their national dishes; he pre-

ferred highly seasoned dishes with much pepper and spice, followed by good fruit. After dinner he walked about talking to his guests till four o'clock, when he returned to his secretaries, took a handful of letters from every pile, and rapidly scanned them to see if his orders had been obeyed. Thereafter till six he busied himself with the education of his subjects, going over the reports of the academy, schools, etc. From six to ten he usually had a concert, himself performing on the flute. At ten he had supper; this meal he gave up during the Seven Years' War, as his digestion had become bad. By eleven he was in bed. This was his daily routine, and nothing, not even ill-health and old age, was allowed to interfere with it. Indeed, during his last few months he worked even harder than ever, and what with dropsy, asthma and erysipelas he could hardly ever sleep, so that his secretaries were kept going night and day. As he said to a friend, 'If you happened to want a night watcher I would suit you well.' The day before his death he dictated a despatch of four quarto pages, which, said Hertzberg, his minister, 'would have done honour to the most experienced minister.'

Frederic left Prussia one of the most commanding states in Europe. Her army was 200,000 strong; she had a comparatively large reserve and a big war chest: all this she owed to the king. But, unfortunately, there was nobody to succeed Frederic when he died. His nephew, Frederic William, was gentle and kind-hearted, but had none of his great uncle's capacity. There was no great minister trained in his methods to lift the burden from his shoulders, for the result of Frederic's régime was to produce copying clerks, not broad-minded statesmen. The king alone had ruled: all initiative had been stifled. Yet Frederic himself had complained of the lack of initiative, for in his testament of 1768 he wrote, 'Mankind move if you urge them on, and stop so soon as you leave off

driving them. Nobody approves of habits and customs but those of his father. Men need little, and have no desire to learn how anything can be managed differently : and, as for me, who never did them anything but good, they think I want to put a knife to their throats, so soon as there is any question of introducing a useful improvement, or indeed any change at all. In such cases I have relied on my honest purposes and my good conscience, and also on information in my possession, and have calmly pursued my way.'

But not only was the head and the brain of the body politic weak and unable to control the nerve centres, the feet were unfortunately made of clay. For the peasantry were still in the uttermost degradation, mere serfs bound to the soil, who owed their master four days' work out of six, and, if they earned fifty-five thalers in cash per annum, were only allowed to keep twenty thalers for their own domestic purposes. Hence the only healthy members of the body politic were the nobles, who, as owners of landed property and as composing the officer corps of the army, were treated with particular consideration. In addition, the new class of manufacturers and traders had been most carefully encouraged by Frederic II. and his father. But even these two classes were absolutely dependent on the king, for the manufacturers were not yet strong enough to subsist without protection ; the silk trade and the iron trade were but newly established, while the nobles and the landed gentry would have been absolutely ruined if the state had withdrawn its support from the land banks. In a word Prussia more than ever depended on her army, and here unfortunately Frederic's system had produced the same result as in politics : he had trained sergeant-majors, not generals ; he had been able to drive himself, but had failed to impart to others the secret of his driving power.

There are those who can see no practical Liberalism in Frederic; and who content themselves with quoting Lessing: 'Pray do not tell me about your Berlin liberty of thought and writing: it merely consists in the liberty of circulating as many witticisms as you please against religion.' They surely forget Frederic's reply to those who attempted to prevent the children of Catholic soldiers from being brought up in their fathers' faith: 'All religions must be tolerated, and the fiscal must watch that none of them do injury to the other: for here every one shall be saved in his own way.' Such toleration was unknown in that day in all Europe, save, perhaps, in England. Typical also of his point of view is the following anecdote. A parson had been severely reprimanded because he had preached a sermon in which he said that since God was ever merciful, the pains of hell could not last for ever. The case was submitted to Frederic, who wrote: 'Let parsons who make for themselves a cruel and barbarous God be eternally damned as they desire and deserve: and let parsons who conceive God as good and merciful enjoy the plenitude of His mercy.'

Holding such opinions we ought not to be surprised at finding that Frederic preferred equity to law, and at times overrode the decisions of his own judges. The famous case is that of the miller Arnold, who rented a small mill which depended for its power on a stream. A landed proprietor higher up the stream diverted the water to form a fish pond. On Arnold being unable to pay his rent he was evicted, but appealed to the king against the decision of the court. The judges refused to reverse their decision, so the king had them put in prison and the case retried by a court-martial. The struggle between the king and the judges ultimately ended in Frederic himself deposing von Zedlitz, the minister of justice. But later, recognising Zedlitz' steadfastness to principle, he rewarded instead of

punishing him. This anecdote is a good illustration of how it was that the king, while honestly attempting to benefit his subjects, failed to establish a living government.

As a king Frederic's character was perhaps too autocratic, and his personality too strong for the age in which he lived : while his ideas were right he was too impatient of advice, and too mistrustful of precedent to build up a system founded on principle. But as a commander in the field he stands high indeed. Absolutely confident of himself, he inspired confidence in others. Though as a strategist his plans were often faulty, he had the quickness of insight and the steadfastness of purpose necessary to repair his errors. During his first few campaigns he wisely listened to the advice of his generals, the old warrior Leopold of Dessau and others. But as he gained experience he more and more trusted his own wisdom, and from the time of the second Silesian War we find in his operations that unity of command which is so important a factor in success. Everything had to be subordinated to the main issue, and all commanders were taught that co-operation was their prime duty. Even Leopold of Dessau had to learn this lesson ; for when, in 1745, after the battle of Hohenfriedberg, he argued against the king's plans, he was met with the sharp censure, ' When your highness has armies of your own you will order them according to your mind : at present it must be according to mine.' On the field of battle Frederic was at his best : he had the clear insight which taught him to recognise the weakness of his foe, and, whether outnumbered or not, he never hesitated to seize the initiative and hurl himself boldly at the weak spot. Prussian drill and discipline had given his infantry the great advantage of mobility on the field of battle, and he supplemented this advantage by learning from his enemies the use of cavalry and artillery. In strategy he once again taught the world the lessons of



mobility. A study of Frederic's marches during any of the first few years of the Seven Years' War will amply repay the student of military history. Except perhaps for Napoleon's campaign of 1814, there is no better lesson in the art of defensive war than in Frederic's campaigns: nothing more clearly exemplifies the dictum that the art of defence is a vigorous local attack. In war as in peace Frederic's passionate self-will often, as at Hochkirch, marred his plans; yet even these mishaps showed his greatness, so quick was he to retrieve his errors. But, above all, his courage and personality turned the sweepings of the European capitals and the ignorant ill-used serfs of Prussia into enthusiastic, fearless and devoted soldiers.

Whatever then were his failings, Frederic was one of those great men who, on behalf of their country, have scorned delights and lived laborious days. 'Learn,' he wrote to a friend, 'from a man who does not go to Elsner's preaching, that one must oppose to ill-fortune a heart of iron: and during this life renounce all happiness, all acquisition, possessions and lying shows, none of which will follow him beyond the grave.'

## NAPOLEON

WHILE Frederic the Great, Catherine II. and Joseph II., fully convinced that they were entrusted with the high mission of governing for the welfare of their subjects, were fostering manufactures, enforcing religious toleration, gradually abolishing the privileges of the nobles, protecting and elevating the serfs, attacking every conceivable form of abuse, in France no such beneficent influences were at work. The French peasant, no longer a serf, was cruelly taxed, and had to pay vexatious dues to the noble absentee landlord, who, owing to the success of Richelieu's scheme, had lost all local authority, and become a mere hanger-on at the Royal Court. Since the death of Louis XIV. the crown had greatly lost its prestige. The unfortunate characters of the Regent Orleans, of Louis XV., and of Louis XVI. had no doubt contributed to this state of affairs, but the real reason was the ill success of the Seven Years' War. The disillusionment caused by the defeat of Rossbach, followed by the loss of nearly all their overseas possessions, was a bitter blow to the French, whose pride could stand any amount of mismanagement at home as long as their rulers gave them *la gloire*. France emerged from the war morally and materially bankrupt. There was only one medium to restore her to health, and that was the overthrow of the privileged classes, whereby taxation might fall on those who could bear it. But when Turgot attempted (1774-1776) to break down the barriers of caste and equalise taxation, the nobles and the lawyers rose in arms and hurled him from office. Meanwhile, in

every salon in Paris those very nobles and their ladies were discussing the doctrines of Voltaire and Rousseau, and prating of equality. They were full of enthusiasm for the Americans ; and they forced the king, against the advice of his finance minister Necker, to enter into war against England on behalf of the revolted states, when every law of reason counselled economy and peace.

The Treaty of Versailles (1783) brought to an end this war from which France emerged with fresh glory indeed, but with an empty exchequer and a huge debt which she could not liquidate. There followed five years of further borrowing. Then, in 1788, as, owing to the former folly of the nobles and the 'parlement,' money could be raised by no other means, all classes at last joined in the demand that the states-general, which had not met for some hundred and seventy years, should be summoned. But it was too late. Although the nobles and lawyers were at last willing to resign their privileges, the mischief was almost irreparable, and the people were animated by a bitter class-hatred. Most unfortunately also for France her king was exceedingly well meaning but very weak, while his minister Necker, a clever banker and financier, knew nothing of politics. Accordingly, every conceivable mistake that it was possible to commit was made, both as to the representation of the three estates—the nobles, the clergy, and the people—and as to their methods of consultation and voting. Meanwhile, in Paris salon, and in village public-house, tongues wagged unceasingly. The great ladies were full of the theoretical virtue of equality ; the soldiers, who had served in the French army in America, knew from experience what equality meant ; while the sharp, struggling attorneys, as is their wont, by intrigues and by wild promises were straining to get themselves elected, holding out all sorts of delusive hopes to the discontented in town and in country.

At the moment that the states-general met at Versailles, on May 5th, 1789, the crown, in spite of Marie Antoinette's foolish escapades, was by no means unpopular. But owing to a series of stupid mistakes, which included the movement of troops around Paris and which resulted in the famous Oath of the Tennis Court, and culminated in the dismissal of Necker, the ambitious malcontents were able to work on the fears of the people. Then followed the fall of the Bastille (July 14th), the enrolment of the National Guards under the vain but incompetent Lafayette, and the March of the Women (October 5th and 6th), which resulted in the removal of the Assembly to Paris, where it was overawed by the mob. Unfortunately Mirabeau, the only man who had sufficient statesmanship and personality to control the situation, was forced by the attitude of the queen to remain on the side of the demagogues. Meanwhile, part of the nobility (the émigrés) had fled from the country, while the majority of those who remained were anxious that the king should take some decisive steps to put an end to the impossible situation. The National or Constituent Assembly, after discussing at great length the Rights of Man, proceeded, in 1790, to draw up a new constitution, whereby the old system of centralisation was overthrown, the old historic provinces of the country were destroyed, and France was divided up into eighty departments, each of which was a complete little state in which the judicature, the legislative and the administrative bodies were elected. But at the same time by confiscating Church lands, and turning the clergy into paid servants of the State, religion was forced into active hostility to the new régime. Unfortunately also the harvests of 1789 and 1790 were bad, and starvation led to riots and pillaging, and everywhere demagogues were playing on the feelings of the people and attempting to debauch the soldiers.

Such was the situation when, in January 1791, Mirabeau

died. Meanwhile abroad, Austria, Prussia and Russia were seizing the opportunity of the weakness of France to complete the dismemberment of Poland. But as the years went on the powers began to take alarm at the spread of the revolutionary spirit ; and, in August 1791, the Treaty of Pillnitz was made whereby Leopold of Austria, brother of Marie Antoinette, and Frederic William of Prussia, called on the other powers for co-operation on behalf of Louis XVI., who, in June, had attempted to escape but had been arrested at Varennes. On October 1st, the new Legislative Assembly met, in which the republican spirit was strongly represented ; and the Girondins, who had hitherto been the extremists, were barely able to maintain their authority against the ultra-extremists, the Jacobins.

On April 25th, 1792, France declared war against Austria. The result of the Austro-Prussian invasion, which was checked at Valmy (September 25th), was the September massacres and the imprisonment of the king. The extremists, elated by their temporary success, published the famous decrees of November 19th and December 15th, promising to aid all nations to overthrow their governments, and compelling all countries occupied by French troops to accept the new French institutions. The year 1793 saw the execution of the king (January 21st), and the allies, England, Austria, Prussia and Spain, engaged in the invasion of France ; but each power was working for its own aggrandisement, and there was no unity of control. Hence France was given time under the driving power of the Terror, and the management of the Committee of Public Safety, to try various military experiments which ended in compulsory service. By June 1794, the flood of invasion was checked by Jourdan's victory of Fleurus, and, by 1795, the reorganised French armies were in their turn invading Spain, Holland and Italy. At home the political problem was, for the time, solved by the establishment of a



strong executive of five directors: while excessive legislation was checked by the formation of a senate composed of representatives above a certain age. But far-seeing statesmen had already foretold that this was but a temporary expedient, and were awaiting the appearance of a dictator.

Napoleon Bonaparte, as he spelled the name, the second surviving son of Charles Buonaparte and Letizia Buonaparte (*née* Ramolino), was born at Ajaccio on August 15th, 1769. Both the Buonapartes belonged to good Corsican families, which had originally emigrated to that island from Tuscany. Charles Buonaparte had been a firm supporter of Paoli, the Corsican patriot, who had (in 1764) called in French troops to aid the Corsicans against the Genoese. But when Paoli subsequently (in 1768) was banished for taking up arms against the French, Charles Buonaparte, instead of casting in his lot with the extremists, accepted the offered pardon, and returned with his wife to Ajaccio, to resume his business as an attorney. It was not from his father that Napoleon inherited his world-compelling qualities, but from his mother Letizia, who on her mother's side was descended from the Pietra Santa family, one of the wildest and most virile clans in the island. During his early years the young Napoleon learned from his mother the history of his native island, and became deeply impregnated with hatred of the French and admiration of the gallant Paoli. As he expressed it in later years, 'I was born when my country was perishing. Thirty thousand French vomited upon our coasts, drowning the throne of liberty in wars of blood; such was the sight which first struck my eyes.' Though Napoleon never forgave his father for deserting Paoli, he and his brothers profited greatly by his action; Napoleon and his elder brother Joseph were at an early age admitted to the military school of Brienne, where cadets of noble families received a *frée*

education. The official reports tell us that the small Corsican boy, some ten years old, was silent and obstinate, but add that he was 'imperious.' At Brienne he went through the ordinary curriculum, learning history, mathematics, Latin and French grammar ; in his spare time he devoured Plutarch's *Lives* and later Caesar's *Commentaries*. When fifteen years old his report was 'Constitution excellent ; character submissive, sweet, honest, grateful ; conduct, very regular ; has always distinguished himself by application to mathematics ; knows history and geography passably ; very weak in accomplishments ; he will be an excellent seaman ; is worthy to enter the school at Paris.'

In October 1781, he left Brienne for Paris with the nickname of the 'Spartan': outwardly silent and reserved, inwardly boiling over to avenge his country. 'Paoli will return ; as soon as I have strength I will go and help him,' so he once exclaimed ; 'and perhaps together we shall be able to shake the odious yoke from off the neck of Corsica.' After a year at Paris, at the age of sixteen, Napoleon was gazetted to the artillery regiment of La Fère quartered at Valence on the Rhone. His father had died in the preceding year, and he had taken on himself the whole support of the family, although his pay was only 1120 francs, or about £45 a year. A year later he was granted furlough and visited his relatives in Corsica, where he found his family affairs in such a state that it took him twenty-one months to disentangle them. Meanwhile, during his early years he had become a devoted admirer of Rousseau's philosophy, for in the doctrine of the Rights of Man and in the Social Contract he saw arguments for the deliverance of his beloved Corsica. After rejoining his regiment at Auxerre he threw himself into the study of history, especially of English history, up to the Revolution of 1689.

Bonaparte was in Corsica in the autumn of 1789, on

furlough, taking a keen interest in the events happening at Versailles and Paris, protesting against the tyranny of the French garrison, and appealing to the National Assembly on behalf of Corsica. In July 1790, to the delight of all patriots, Paoli returned to the island, now one of the departments of France, as head of the Corsican National Guards. Bonaparte was greatly disappointed when he met his hero, who, mellowed by time, was willing to become a French official. After returning to his regiment at Auxerre, the autumn of 1791 found him once again on leave in Corsica. Soon a breach divided Paoli and his former admirer, for the old patriot distrusted the Revolution; while Napoleon, by now a Jacobin and lieutenant-colonel of the Corsican National Guards, attempted to seduce from its obedience the line regiment which was in garrison at Ajaccio. Doubtless such conduct ought to have been severely punished, but when Bonaparte returned from furlough, in April 1793, France was in a ferment, and war had just been declared against Austria. A little later, on leave in Paris, on June 23rd, he witnessed the humiliation of the king at the Tuileries; and in spite of his theories his sound common sense revolted against the scene, and he exclaimed, 'Why don't they sweep off four or five hundred of that canaille with cannon? The rest would then run away fast enough.' He also witnessed the massacre of the Swiss Guards, on August 10th, and wrote to his elder brother Joseph, 'If Louis XVI. had mounted his horse the victory would have been his.'

While France was hurrying the relics of her regular army and a nondescript force of volunteers to protect her eastern frontier, Bonaparte returned to Corsica. Military discipline was lax, and the authorities no doubt thought that such a staunch Republican would be more useful at home. But six months later he had to flee the island, for the greater part of his countrymen sided with Paoli, and preferred the

protection of England to becoming a part of Republican France. Paoli stood for 'freedom as a due balance of class interests.' Bonaparte held that 'mankind was to be saved by law, society being levelled down and levelled up until the ideals of Lycurgus were attained.'

Bonaparte returned to France, in 1793, ready to support the Jacobins, or any party which could save France from her foes. So far, in spite of his wonderful gifts, he was only known as the unsuccessful leader of the Revolutionary party in Corsica. During the summer he was eating out his heart in garrison in Provence, longing to get to the front, eagerly appealing to be transferred to the army of the Rhine. But in the autumn his chance came. On August 23rd, Toulon admitted the English and Spanish fleets into her harbour on behalf of Louis xvii. Amid the miscellaneous collection of troops that the Committee of Public Safety hurriedly despatched to try to regain the town, the genius of Captain Bonaparte made itself felt, first by the resource with which he created an artillery train, secondly by the soundness of his tactical advice, and thirdly by his magnetic influence over the troops. When Toulon fell, on December 17th, he had gained his majority (*chef de bataillon*), and had so firmly established his reputation as an officer of great ability that, in April 1794, he was appointed general officer commanding the artillery of the army of Italy.

The glory of the Italian campaign of 1794 belongs to Masséna, Bonaparte's share being due to the consummate skill with which the artillery was used. But before the year was over the artillery general proved that he had other gifts as great as his military ability. Sent on an embassy to Genoa, by sheer force of his will he compelled the Doge and Senate to comply with the French demands. But his career soon after this nearly came to an end, as at the time of the execution of Robespierre (July 24th) he was arrested as a Jacobin.

In the following spring Bonaparte was recalled from the army of Italy to Paris. The government evidently agreed with General Schérer's report on him: 'This officer is general of artillery, and in this arm has sound knowledge, but has somewhat too much ambition and intriguing habits for his advancement.' He was offered the command of the troops destined to crush the royalist revolt in La Vendée, but this he refused; however, thanks to the skill with which he drew up a strategical plan for the army of Italy, in August, he was appointed to the topographical bureau of the Committee of Public Safety. While he was thus engaged, the new constitution—the 'Directory'—was published, on September 23rd. But the Convention, afraid that the royalists might gain a majority at the polls, desired that the law of the new constitution should apply to it, and that instead of dissolving only one-third of the members should retire, and the rest should continue to sit. At once there was an outcry from all who were weary of the Convention. The Convention leaders, foreseeing trouble, appointed Barras to command the troops in Paris; and he selected among his subordinates Bonaparte, Brune and others. Bonaparte was entrusted with guarding the streets leading to the Tuileries from the north, and by his skilful use of the artillery, which Barras had summoned from the camp at Sablons, swept away the masses of malcontents.

The 15 Vendémiaire (October 6th, 1795) is the turning point in the career of Bonaparte, and of the French Revolution. The government of the day had for the first time, since the outbreak of the Revolution, successfully resisted the pressure of the mob and taught it a lesson; while Bonaparte, who had won the favour of Barras, received his reward, first, in the command of the army of reserve, and, secondly, in gaining a wife. He had long admired Josephine de Beauharnais, a Creole of great attraction.



At first the gay widow had no eyes for the unkempt, sickly, untidy Corsican, regarded with ill favour by the government. But when Bonaparte sprang into favour among the upholders of the Directory, and Barras, his friend, promised him the command of the army of Italy, she yielded (March 9th, 1796) to his 'violent tenderness amounting almost to frenzy': although she was half afraid of his 'keen, inexplicable gaze which imposes even on our directors.'

Bonaparte arrived in Italy burning with sympathy for the Italian people, but above all resolved to win his way to fame. He found the situation full of difficulties. He himself was an artilleryman, and up to now had had little to do with the other arms of the service; the army he was to command was in a state of disorder and mutiny from bad management and want; it numbered but forty-two thousand, against the fifty-two thousand composing the Austro-Sardinian force; while his troops were strung out in a long line along the coast, the enemy in a central position held all the passes of the Apennines. The new general's first business was to turn his great powers of organisation to the commissariat and ordnance departments; at the same time the mutineers were sternly punished; then, having restored order, he began to play on the emotions of his troops. 'Soldiers,' ran his proclamation, 'you are half-starved and half-naked. The government owes you much, but can do nothing. Your patience and courage are honourable to you, but they procure you neither advantage nor glory. I am about to lead you into the most fertile valleys of the world: there you will find flourishing cities and teeming provinces: there you will reap glory and riches. Soldiers of the army of Italy, will you lack courage?'

The soldiers answered to the bid, and Bonaparte from that day knew that the army was his. With consummate skill he caused the enemy to divide their forces, then hurled himself on their centre, and by the battles of Millesimo and

Montenotte forced a wedge between the Austrians and Sardinians, and drove the latter in rout towards Turin. Next he showed the Directory that he was more their master than their servant : he exposed their ignorance of military affairs, made the armistice of Cherasco (April 28th) with the Sardinians on his own account, whereby he gained the three most important fortresses—Alessandria, Ceva and Novi. Then, with lightning rapidity, he turned on the Austrians, hoodwinked them as to his plans, and manœuvred them out of Milanese territory, gaining a theatrical victory over their rearguard at the bridge of Lodi (May 10th), where his troops for his bravery on that day greeted him with the nickname of *le petit caporal*. The victory of Lodi, as Napoleon confessed, opened up to him vast plans of ambition. He hurried to Milan, where he was greeted as a liberator. But while, with his precocious political skill, he there created a republic on the French model, he demanded from Lombardy twenty million francs and many works of art. The money nominally raised to support the army was more than sufficient, and he wrote to the Directory that he could send them seven or eight millions, 'it being over and above what the army requires.' The directors, like the soldiers, jumped to the bait. From that day Napoleon commenced to shake himself free from their authority, and entered on a course of conquest, well knowing that he could stifle all remonstrance by sending part of the spoil to Paris. Soon the other Italian states like Parma and Modena were also mulcted, and Tuscany and Rome had to pay his requisitions. But Bonaparte himself retained his popularity with the Italians by protesting that these exactions were the work of the Directory, and actively aiding in the introduction of republican institutions in the ravaged provinces.

Meanwhile, the Emperor Francis II. refused to acquiesce in the loss of the fertile province of Lombardy, and strained

every nerve to relieve the important fortress of Mantua on the Mincio, which was now besieged by the French. But the Austrian plans of campaign, made at Vienna, were always defective. They invariably aimed at surrounding the enemy, relying on the junction of forces on the field of battle. Bonaparte instinctively recognised that the capture of Mantua was a secondary operation as compared with the defeat of the enemy's armies in the field. The Austrians made four distinct attempts to relieve Mantua : the first, by way of a combined advance from both sides of Lake Garda, ended in Wurmser's defeat at Lonato-Castiglione (August). The second resulted in Masséna defeating the Austrians at Bassano on the Adige, but Wurmser with part of his troops succeeded in getting into Mantua. In the third attempt Alvinczy foiled the French at Caldiero, near Verona. But Bonaparte, by a bold turning movement through the marshes, aided by good fortune and bad Austrian tactics, won a lucky victory at Arcola (November 15th-17th), truly illustrating his saying, ' Fortune is a woman, and the more she does for me the more I require of her.' Still the emperor refused to consider himself beaten, and, in January 1797, he ordered Alvinczy to make another effort to save Mantua. But the Austrian troops found the French in position at Rivoli on the Adige. Thanks to Bonaparte's splendid use of the terrain, the Austrians' superiority in numbers was completely negated, and the French won a magnificent victory. On January 14th, 1797, Mantua surrendered. The emperor thereon sent the Archduke Charles to oppose the conqueror ; but that capable general was hampered by excessive restrictions, and by a bad staff. Bonaparte, by brilliant strategy and consummate use of his topographical knowledge, forced him back, until, on April 17th, he was glad to make an armistice at Leoben, within a hundred miles of the Austrian capital Vienna.

Bonaparte remained in Italy during the rest of the year 1797, holding a sort of informal court at Montebello. He successfully drew into his hands all the threads of the negotiations which resulted in the Peace of Campo Formio (19th October), whereby France was granted the Rhine as her frontier, and, in exchange for Milan, handed over to Austria the dominion of Venice. Bonaparte had seized Venetia for that very purpose, on the pretext of injuries done to French subjects. He was also busily engaged in welding Milan, Modena, Verona and Bologna into what was called the Cisalpine republic. Meanwhile, he kept a careful eye on France where royalist plots threatened the Directory. He was far too wise to show his hand, and allowed the fiery Augereau, 'a factious man,' to rush to Paris and incur the odium of expelling the directors Barthélemy and Carnot. But, in spite of this, there was constant friction between the directors and the conqueror of Italy, and when, in December, Bonaparte at last arrived in Paris amid triumphal receptions, they were at their wits' end to know how to get rid of him. He on his side had determined that he would teach them a lesson; he accepted for the moment the appointment that they gave him of the command of the army of England; but he determined to induce the government to send him on an expedition to the East. He recognised that the English power was the great enemy of the French republic, but that it was impossible to invade England without holding command of the sea. From his knowledge of the Mediterranean he thought it was quite possible to capture Egypt, and from there to hold out a hand to Tippoo Sahib and the other Indian potentates, and thus so to threaten England's colonial possessions and trade that she would be unable to interfere in continental affairs; while he was certain that on his withdrawal from France there was no statesman of sufficient ability to direct the policy of the government, and no soldier capable of resisting

the foes who, he foresaw, would spring up on all sides owing to the stupidity and greed of the directors.

It was therefore with the desire of humiliating France and reappearing as her saviour that he planned the expedition to the East, which had always so attracted him with its glamour; for, as he said to his secretary Bourrienne, 'This little Europe does not supply enough of it (glory) for me. I must seek it in the East: all great fame comes from that quarter.'

The directors were only too glad to fall in with his scheme. Everything seemed to prosper. Malta was seized: Nelson's pursuing fleet was eluded in a fog: and, on July 1st, Bonaparte with some thirty-two thousand troops occupied Alexandria, commissioned by the directors to capture Egypt and exclude the English from 'all their possessions in the East to which the general can come.' But Bonaparte had further schemes; he would arm the Christians of the East, seize Constantinople, and 'take Europe in the rear.' In spite of the loss of his fleet at the battle of the Nile (August 1st), Egypt was soon in his hands and rapidly organised as a French colony; for Bonaparte had brought with him administrators and savants as well as soldiers. But Turkey would not give up her possession without a struggle, and, early in 1799, began to move her forces southwards. Bonaparte at once moved forward to meet the enemy, crossed the desert and entered Palestine, sweeping all before him, till at last he was brought to a check at Acre, where British guns and British seamen held the defences until the arrival of the Turkish army (May), when the French were forced to fall back into Egypt. The check at Acre had shattered his scheme of emulating Alexander by founding an empire in the East, and even after the famous victory of Austerlitz he was heard to murmur, '*J'ai manqué à ma fortune à Saint Jean d'Acre.*'

From French papers sent to him in Egypt by Sir Sidney



Smith, Bonaparte learned, in August, that what he had foreseen was happening. Austria and Russia had again declared war on France, and their forces were sweeping through Italy and pressing in on Switzerland and on the Rhine, while the English were threatening an invasion of Holland. Realising that the time was now ripe for his reappearance, leaving the army of Egypt in the capable hands of Kléber, he collected the most brilliant and pliant members of his staff, and, embarking in a couple of frigates, slipped through the blockading force. He landed at Fréjus, on October 9th, and pushed on towards Paris, where he was hailed as the conqueror of the East. But in spite of the rapture with which he was greeted there was a fly in the ointment, for he found his wife Josephine had been unfaithful to him.

For the moment, thanks to Masséna's victory of Zürich, the danger from without was not so great as that from within. The failure of the directors to protect France, the struggle for power between them and the councils, the jealousy felt by the army, because all the high offices of state were filled by civilians, and the fact that the greater part of the new third of the councils desired a strong government and peace, all pointed to a crisis. Bonaparte was quite ready to become a director, but from that post he was excluded as he was not yet forty years old. He accordingly joined Sieyès, the great constitution-monger, who was plotting a revolution. The *coup d'état*, of the 18th Brumaire (November 9th), practically made Bonaparte ruler of France. Its success was due to the presence of mind of Lucien Bonaparte, who, when the assembly was hostile and his brother hesitated, called in the troops. At the first meeting of the provisional government Sieyès asked, 'Who shall preside?' 'Do you not see,' said Roger Ducos, 'that the general is in the chair?' Sieyès saw and recognised what it meant, for that evening he said to his

friends, '*Messieurs, nous avons un maître: il sait tout; il peut tout; il veut tout.*'

The essence of the new constitution was that 'confidence comes from below, power from above.' All male adults were allowed to take part in the first stages of the election of deputies: in each district they could choose a tenth of their number (the notables of the commune), who in turn chose a tenth of their number (the notables of the department), who chose a tenth of their number (the notables of the nation). From the last list the government chose the members of the legislative body and the permanent officials. The legislative body was subdivided into a senate, which chose the three consuls: the tribunate, which discussed laws but could not vote on them; the legislature, which voted on laws but could not speak on them; and the executive, composed of the three consuls and ministers of state nominated by the consuls, who alone could initiate legislation. Thus the consuls inherited all the powers of the old Committee of Public Safety, while they had absolute control of the executive and the legislature. The consuls were chosen for ten years; but as the first consul controlled the army, navy, diplomatic service, and general administration, the others speedily dropped into insignificance. Bonaparte of course was first consul, while the other two were Cambacères, a learned lawyer, but a regicide, and Lebrun, a moderate, with leanings towards constitutional royalty.

The first consul immediately turned his attention to the pacification of France. He pursued a policy of moderation, refusing office to extremists of all kinds, granting toleration to the orthodox priests, and thus at last ending the revolt in La Vendée, and skilfully availing himself of the belief of the rebels in Normandy that he would soon recall the king. But very early the constitutionalists found that his complaisance had limits. For, first, the freedom of debate in the tribunate was limited; and, next, the freedom of the

press, under the plea of preventing the publication of any article 'contrary to the respect due to the Social Compact, to the Sovereignty of the People, and to the Glory of the Armies.'

From civilian administration Bonaparte was summoned to the task of putting an end to the war. By the spring of 1800, Russia had withdrawn from the coalition. Jealous of England she turned into a friend of France, and raised up a League of the North to oppose the English treatment of neutrals. Soon a scheme was outlined 'for dealing the enemy a mortal blow,' by a combined Franco-Russian invasion of India. Meanwhile, Austria held all northern Italy: Masséna was blockaded in Genoa, and the French could only just hold their own on the frontier along the Var. But, on June 14th, the situation was suddenly reversed; for, on that day, after having skilfully misled the enemy as to his intentions, and having crossed the Great St. Bernard Pass and occupied Piacenza, thus cutting their communications with home, Bonaparte brought the enemy to battle at Marengo. Thanks mainly to fortune, what seemed like a crushing defeat was turned into a great victory by the dash of Desaix in marching to the guns, and by the magnificent cavalry charge of the younger Kellermann. Six months later Moreau's victory of Hohenlinden (December 3rd), brought Austria to her knees, and, on February 9th, 1801, the Treaty of Lunéville was signed; whereby the Rhine became France's eastern frontier; the Cisalpine, the Ligurian, the Batavian and Helvetic republics were recognised; and Austria received compensation at the expense of the ecclesiastical states of the empire. England held out for another year, distrustful of Bonaparte's aims; for with these additions to her territory France had now some forty-one million of people, and England had but sixteen million, five hundred thousand. However, in the end the weight of debt, and the need for a period of peace in

which to meet the new social conditions, arising from the commencement of the industrial revolution, induced the English ministers to listen to the French demands. By the Treaty of Amiens Egypt was restored to the Porte, Malta was given back to the knights of St. John, and England gave up all her colonial conquests save Ceylon and Trinidad.

During the years which preceded and followed the Treaty of Amiens, the first consul laid the foundation on which all later governments of France have built. As he said, ' We have done with the romance of the Revolution : we must now commence its history. We must have eyes only for what is real and practical in the application of principle, and not for the speculative and hypothetical.' His first work was to provide for the administration of local government by means of prefects and sub-prefects : these officers nominated by himself and directly responsible to the council of state took the place of the old royal intendants, which had been usurped by the committees of the revolutionary period. Under his fostering care the roads and canals were restored and perfected, public buildings rebuilt, a regular system of national schools established, a university of France was organised for teaching purposes, and the law codified by the Code Napoléon. Lastly, a Concordat was made with the Papacy, whereby the Roman Catholic religion was recognised as the religion of the state : and, in spite of all efforts of the pope, the bishops and the clergy became the paid servants of the state. The Concordat was a great *tour de force*, for it once and for all established the peasantry on the Church lands, which they had gained at the Revolution, and thus bound up their interests with Bonaparte's government. As one of his ministers said, ' The Concordat was the most brilliant triumph over the genius of the Revolution ' ; it healed the religious schism in France, and dealt a deadly blow at the revolutionary spirit. Having thus attached to his side the ' sacred gendarmerie,' and

the peasant proprietors, he next made a bid for those who were ambitious of social distinction—another blow at the doctrine of equality. He instituted the Legion of Honour, not only for soldiers who had rendered considerable service to the state in the war of liberty, but also for civilians, 'who, by their learning, talents and virtues, contributed to establish or defend the principles of the republic.' The new institution rested principally on the confiscated lands, and helped to strengthen his position against all who desired the restoration of the monarchy and the old nobility. No one knew human nature better than Bonaparte, and he recognised that 'men are led by toys,' and that the French 'have one failing—honour.' 'We must remember that failing,' he said; 'they must have distinctions.'

It was with the same design that Napoleon (as he called himself after he was granted the consulate for life on August 2nd, 1802) spent large sums in making Paris 'the most beautiful capital in the world.' At the Tuileries and at his private house at Saint-Cloud he re-established all the old etiquette and uniforms of the court of Louis XVI., for, as he said, 'In France trifles are great things: reason is nothing.' But to appeal to the republican spirit he himself was conspicuous in his plain undress uniform of a colonel of the Consular Guard; he calculated that this studied moderation would be very attractive to all those foreign visitors who flocked to see the great first consul. One of them thus describes him at the time, 'He is about five feet seven inches high, delicately and gracefully made; his hair a dark brown crop, thin and lank; his complexion smooth, pale and sallow; his eyes grey, but very animated; his eyebrows light brown, thin and projecting. All his features, particularly his mouth and nose, fine, sharp defined, and expressive beyond description. . . . The true expression of his countenance is a pleasing melancholy, which, when he speaks, relaxes into the most agreeable and



gracious smile you can imagine. . . . He speaks deliberately but very fluently, with particular emphasis, and in rather a low tone of voice. While he speaks his features are still more expressive than his words.'

Napoleon had never intended the Peace of Amiens to be final ; but he was extremely disgusted at the renewal of the war by England, in May 1804, for he was desirous of building up a new colonial empire in the West, and of re-organising the French fleet, before he once again challenged the mistress of the sea. Still, he had himself to blame : for he must have known that England would look on these operations with suspicion ; while his acceptance of the presidency of the Italian republic (June 1802) and the annexation of Elba, Piedmont, Parma and Piacenza during the same summer, ending as it did in the occupation of Switzerland, in February 1803, and the publication of Sébastiani's reports on Egypt, made war inevitable ; so when he insisted on the surrender of Malta, the English government refused and withdrew their ambassador from Paris.

Napoleon's reply to the British declaration of war was to seize Hanover, and then to prepare for an invasion of England, by the establishment of huge camps stretching from Brest to Utrecht : while the dockyards of Holland, France and Italy were busy equipping battleships and barges for the transport of troops. For two years these preparations continued, but broke down owing to Nelson's watchfulness, whereby the French fleet were so successfully shadowed that it never got the forty-eight hours' control of the Channel which Napoleon desired. Meanwhile, England reoccupied the Cape of Good Hope, attacked the French colonial possessions in the West Indies, and encouraged the royalists in France. Some of the junior ministers lent their authority to a plot for Napoleon's assassination. The plot failed. Georges Cadoudal, the leader, was arrested and

executed; Pichegru, who was implicated, died in prison; and Moreau, whose complicity was proved, was banished to America. Napoleon now determined to read the royalists a lesson. He was wrongly informed by a spy that Dumouriez, the victor of Valmy, was implicated in this plot, and was staying with the young Duke d'Enghien, just across the Rhine at Ettenheim, in Baden territory. Contrary to all international law he secretly sent a body of French soldiers to arrest the prince and bring him to Vincennes, where he had a court-martial assembled, ready to sentence him to death. The evidence proved that Dumouriez had had no connection with the young prince, and that the duke had never plotted against the first consul. Still, in spite of Josephine's entreaties, Napoleon refused to stay the execution. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien, as Fouché is reported to have said, 'was worse than a crime—it was a blunder,' because it alienated Prussia and Russia, and helped the English to form a new coalition against France. But it gave Napoleon the opportunity to insinuate that the only way of stopping these plots was to adopt the hereditary system. Thus, as Paris said, the plotters 'came to France to give her a king, and they gave her an emperor.'

Napoleon had long foreseen that one day he would be emperor, but, as he said to his brother Joseph, 'I thought that such a step could not be taken before the lapse of five or six years.' The mass of the nation, sick of the uncertainties of the years of Revolution, cared little as long as there was settled government. The peasantry saw in Napoleon the guarantor of their possessions. The ultra-Jacobins had to acknowledge that, if the hereditary system was established, conspiracies to murder would be meaningless: while the army was gained over by carefully dismissing or sending on foreign missions the ultra-republican generals, and by bribing the pliable by titles and estates. The consequence was that the nation decided, by a majority of three

million, five hundred thousand votes, that the first consul should become emperor. The force of religion was used to sanctify the arrangement, and the pope was induced to come to Paris to perform the ceremony. Every detail of the great event was thought out by Napoleon himself ; every spiritual, moral, and material force was requisitioned ; and the sword of Charlemagne was brought from Aix-la-Chapelle, to propagate the idea that the empire of the great hero was about to be revived. But while he called to his aid the Church and the army, Napoleon would have men know that he was the builder of his own fortunes. Before the pope could place the crown on his head he stepped up to the altar and crowned himself with his own hands ; while he told his newly created marshals, ‘ Recollect that you are soldiers only when with the army. . . . On the battlefield you are generals, at court you are nobles, belonging to the state by the civil position I created for you.’

It was on May 18th, 1804, that Napoleon became Emperor of the French. Three months later, on August 11th, Francis II., the last of the Holy Roman emperors, acknowledging the new condition created by the Treaty of Lunéville, gave up his ancient title and proclaimed himself hereditary Emperor of Austria. Events marched quickly ; in May 1805, Napoleon transformed the Cisalpine republic into a monarchy, and was crowned King of Italy with the Iron Crown at Milan ; in June, he incorporated Genoa and the Ligurian republic in France ; while Lucca was transformed into a principality for his sister Pauline, the Princess Borghese. The emperors of Austria and Russia, heavily subsidised with English gold, were easily induced to find in the annexation of Genoa and Lucca a pretext for war. Probably this was Napoleon’s reason for the annexation, as he desired if necessary to have the opportunity of covering the failure of his naval scheme against England by a successful European war.

It was on August 23rd that Napoleon heard that Villeneuve had abandoned the dash at the Channel, and that Austria was speedily arming ; at once he began to try and win Prussia to his side by offering her Hanover, and at the same time commenced making preparations to change his front and hurl the ' army of England ' on Austria. Czartoryski said of him, ' Napoleon is the only man in Europe that knows the value of time.' Austria found this to her cost ; by September 20th, the Grand Army was on the Rhine, and, by October 20th, the Austrian General Mack had capitulated with his army at Ulm. Six weeks later Napoleon had occupied Vienna, and on the anniversary of his coronation, December 2nd, had defeated the combined armies of Russia and Austria at Austerlitz, his masterpiece. There he successfully tempted the allies to try to turn his right flank, and then, when their forces were disseminated, hurled his strength against their weakened centre. Before the year was over Austria had been glad to buy peace at Pressburg, by ceding Venice, Istria and Dalmatia to the new kingdom of Italy and the Tyrol and Swabia to Bavaria, whose elector took the title of king, and pledged himself to the French emperor by marrying his daughter to Prince Eugène, Napoleon's step-son.

The success of Austerlitz killed Pitt. ' Roll up the map of Europe ; we shall not want it this ten years,' he said. Fox and Granville who succeeded him desired peace. Napoleon met their negotiations by offering to restore Hanover, which he had granted to Prussia, on February 15th, 1806, in exchange for Cleve, which was ceded to France, and Anspach to Bavaria. A further sign of Napoleon's restless ambition was seen in the fact that he had conquered the kingdom of Naples and given it to his brother Joseph, and had made another brother, Louis, King of Holland. Prussia accordingly began to mobilise her troops ; she was seriously annoyed by the Confederation

of the Rhine, composed of Baden, Bavaria, Württemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt, and other smaller states. The Confederation had been organised by Napoleon, and had placed itself under his protection, and this interfered with Prussian predominance in Western Germany. But Prussia could make no better stand against Napoleon than Austria. At Auerstädt and Jena her armies were swept away, and within six weeks of the commencement of war every fortress in the country had surrendered; and the French troops, pushing over the Vistula, had entered Poland. In the following spring, the Russians, though defeated, very nearly destroyed the Grand Army at the battles of Eylau and Friedland, and both Alexander and Napoleon were glad to come to an agreement. Alexander fell entirely under the emperor's influence. 'I never had more prejudices against any one,' he said, 'than against him, but after three quarters of an hour's conversation they disappeared like a dream.' Russia now entered the orbit of France, and gave her adhesion to the 'continental system,' whereby British commerce was to be excluded from the continent. Every neutral ship, that had traded at a British port, *ipso facto* became an enemy's ship liable to capture. Napoleon in return promised not to re-establish a kingdom of Poland, and instead set up a Grand Duchy of Warsaw under French tutelage: he further pledged himself to help Russia to extend her boundaries at the expense of Turkey and Sweden. Prussia was practically dismembered. Her Rhenish provinces, added to the Grand Duchy of Berg, were turned into the kingdom of Westphalia for Jerome, the youngest Bonaparte; all her Polish possessions went to form the new Grand Duchy; her army was reduced to forty thousand men, and the remainder of her territory occupied by French troops until she had paid a huge indemnity.

Master of central Europe, Napoleon turned his eyes to



the West, where Portugal refused to join the continental system. Bribing Spain, by the promise of a partition of her neighbour, he got leave for his troops to pass through that country, and, by November 1807, Junot had occupied Portugal, and the house of Braganza had fled to Brazil. Elated by his enormous success, he then took advantage of the squabbles between the members of the royal house of Spain to invite both the king and his heir, Prince Ferdinand, to Bayonne. At the same time, he occupied Madrid with an army under his brother-in-law Murat (March 1808) ; and, in June, after deposing the Bourbons, he transferred his brother Joseph from Naples to Madrid and created Murat King of Naples.

Hitherto Napoleon had been fighting against kings, not against nations ; and had as heir to the Revolution always been able to appeal to the democratic forces in every country. But the haughty Spanish people refused to acquiesce in such shameful treatment : everywhere they rose in arms, and, on July 21st, Napoleon received his first check when General Dupont and a French army had to surrender to the Spanish forces at Baylen. The results of this disaster were far-reaching, and followed by risings against the French in Germany and elsewhere. Meanwhile, England had not been idle while her great adversary was conquering the continent, as the only means of humbling her. She had replied to the continental system by the Orders in Council, whereby she declared a blockade of all countries occupied by or in possession of the French. After Tilsit, in September 1807, she had seized the Danish fleet at Copenhagen to prevent it falling into the hands of her enemy. Now she gladly responded to the demands of the Spaniards, and poured money and arms into the country, and what was better, in August, sent a British force to Portugal. Napoleon recognised the gravity of the situation ; after interviewing his ally the Czar at Erfurt (October

12th), he hurried to Spain, intent on crushing the Spanish resistance and dispelling the shock his prestige had received at Baylen, for, as he said, 'You can always supply the place of soldiers. Honour alone, when once lost, can never be regained.' Thanks, however, to Sir John Moore's plucky advance Napoleon's combinations against Spain were broken up, and he was drawn northwards into pursuit of the British.

Meanwhile, Austria, emboldened by the success of the Spaniards, had decided to try another fall with her enemy. In Paris also, in spite of the suppression of the tribunate (September 1807), public feeling was beginning to dislike the endless war, and Fouché and Talleyrand were beginning to plot. Accordingly, early in January 1808, seeing that the English had escaped him, the emperor gave over command of the pursuing force to Soult and hastened home. The Austrian war opened auspiciously, and, after the five days' fighting near Ratisbon, Napoleon quickly occupied Vienna. But at Aspern-Esseling (May) the Archduke Charles foiled him, and for a moment it seemed as if the huge edifice he had built would collapse. The victory of Wagram (July 5th and 6th), however, brought Austria to her knees, and she was forced to agree to the Treaty of Vienna, which stripped her of the remainder of her Italian possessions and most of her Polish conquests. Napoleon now thought to establish his position among the crowned heads of Europe, by divorcing Josephine and marrying the Austrian Archduchess Marie Louise. A year later, March 23rd, 1811, he seemed to have gained his highest ambition, for the new empress presented him with a son, whom he at once created King of Rome.

But, in spite of all these successes, the signs of decay had set in. The Spanish ulcer had already begun to gnaw at his vitals. Joseph was unable to pacify the country, and gradually the fame of the British troops under Sir Arthur

Wellesley began to grow, as marshal after marshal of France fell back defeated before them. The Czar also was becoming restive ; he found the continental system was ruining his country's commerce ; he was apprehensive of the Emperor's Polish policy ; he was irritated by the preference of an Austrian archduchess to a Russian princess ; and he was furious at the annexation of Oldenburg, his family's possession. In Sweden the French marshal Bernadotte, Napoleon's personal enemy, newly adopted as crown prince, was plotting against him ; while the pope, since the divorce of Josephine, had refused to acknowledge his authority. But, worst of all, Aspern-Esseling, Wagram, and the battles in Spain were teaching the world that the French troops were no longer invincible, and in Germany the Tugendbund was spreading the gospel of patriotism. Still England was feeling the strain of the war, and the exclusion of her commerce from the continent. In 1812, Napoleon, who by now no longer judged facts by what they were, but by what he wanted them to be, determined to force Alexander to adhere to the continental system, and in the autumn invaded Russia with half a million men. Throwing prudence to the winds he kept following the retreating Russians to Moscow. Winter overtook him there before he could bring the Russians to their knees, and he was compelled to make a disastrous retreat, only bringing back some fifty-nine thousand out of his half million men. In spite of this, in June 1813, by superhuman efforts, he was able once again to take the field. But Prussia had joined the Russians and Austria also declared war : after his lieutenants had been defeated in detail, Napoleon himself was overwhelmed by the allies at the battle of Leipzig (October 16th-19th). Then Murat deserted him. But in spite of this he would agree to no truce which curtailed French territory or took away the Rhine frontier. The winter campaign in France (1814) proved how great a

soldier he was, but in the end, he was overborne by sheer weight of numbers. Then, deserted by the very men he had exalted, he was forced, on April 6th, to abdicate, for the army like the rest of France was sick of the endless struggle. The fact was at last brought home to him when Ney, in reply to his saying, 'The army will obey me,' retorted, 'No, it will obey its commanders.'

It was arranged that Napoleon should retain the title of emperor, and be granted the island of Elba; while the Bourbons, thanks to Talleyrand's influence with the Czar, were brought back to France, and a congress met at Vienna to remodel the map of Europe. The Bourbons returned, having 'learnt nothing and forgotten nothing'; and Napoleon, in the spring of 1815, seeing the army and peasantry incensed against the returned dynasty, suddenly reappeared in France, where he was greeted with immense enthusiasm. He at once granted a free constitution, and proclaimed that he had no intention of attempting to aggrandise himself. The Congress of Vienna replied by declaring him an outlaw, consigned 'to public prosecution.' They saw that 'the question is peace with Bonaparte now, and war with him in Germany two years hence.' So every country in Europe hastened to arm. But before the might of Europe could be collected, Napoleon fell on the English and Prussian troops in the Netherlands, only to be defeated at Waterloo, and forced to fly back to Paris where he once again abdicated. This time the powers decided that he should never again be given the chance of escaping, and banished him to the lonely island of St. Helena, in the middle of the southern Atlantic.

The Napoleon of the Hundred Days was very different from the emperor of old. 'He seemed habitually calm, pensive and preserved, without affectation, a serious dignity, with little of the old audacity and self-confidence . . . a kind of lassitude, that he had never known before, took hold

of him after some hours of work.' In fact the cancer of the stomach, from which he ultimately died, had commenced its insidious attack on his wonderful constitution.

During the six years of exile at St. Helena, Napoleon still believed that one day he would return to France. He spent the time in dictating his *Memoirs*, displaying all the wonderful power of deceit which had enabled him, all through his career, to make men judge his actions and motives not as they really were, but as he wished them to appear. From time to time he managed to despatch to Europe documents, which he hoped would stir up a coalition against England, and enlist the democratic sympathies of the continent in his behalf. But, in spite of all odium, the English ministers, well aware of his plots to escape to America, would relax none of their precautions. It was a pitiful existence for the former ruler of Europe to spend his time wrangling with the faithful friends who had accompanied him into exile, or attempting by petty malice to annoy Sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of the island. But we must make allowance for the ennui of such a situation to a man of the emperor's mental and physical activity, and also for the gradual growth of the malignant and painful malady. During April 1821, the disease rapidly gained on him. The end came on May 5th. Amid a raging storm he passed away murmuring, '*France, armée, tête d'armée, Joséphine.*'

'They seek to destroy the Revolution by attacking my person: I will defend it, for I am the Revolution.' Here at all events lies one of the causes of Napoleon's early success. The Revolution, which had its origin in discontent and hatred of the remnants of feudalism and of clerical authority, and whose driving power was faith in the doctrine of equality, as propounded by Rousseau, had run its course. Equality had been gained, but by the time of the Directory liberty and fraternity were disappearing



before the advent of a selfish oligarchy. Constitutional crisis followed crisis, as various combinations sought to capture the executive power of the state, with the result that, by 1799, France found herself rent by internal dissensions, a prey to her foreign enemies. It was to obtain peace at home and security abroad that the nation acquiesced in a dictatorship. Napoleon knew that he had gained his power because he was absolutely necessary to France, and that he could only retain it by ever reminding her that she could not do without him. The problem he had to solve was how, under the guise of liberty, to build up a despotism ; and how to found this despotism, not on the swords of the army, but on civil consent.

The one unchanging factor in the problem was this, that the peasantry, who were numerically by far the greatest number of the citizens, cared little about the institutions and government of the state, as long as they were guaranteed the land which they had acquired during the Revolution. This meant that they would acquiesce in anything, as long as the Bourbons did not return. Hence, when Napoleon proclaimed himself emperor, and thus stood forward as the decided opponent of the old royal house, his action was extremely popular with the mass of the people. The introduction of the Code Napoléon, which swept away feudal law and rested the foundation of property on Roman law, completed the task of binding the peasantry to the empire. Thereafter Napoleon, as long as he was successful and could wage war at the expense of other nations, had nothing to fear, for he gave France glory and excitement, the two requirements she could not do without. Hence, he was gradually able to muzzle the tribunate and hobble the Legislative Assembly. As he said, 'In my opinion the French do not care for liberty and equality : they have but one sentiment—honour. Therefore that sentiment must be gratified.' But there was one weak spot in the foundation

on which he built, and he knew it well; he never could afford to let the nation get bored. 'My power would fail,' he said, as early as 1802, 'if I were not to support it with new glory and new victories. Conquest has made me what I am; only conquest can maintain me.'

No man has ever been more cynically ambitious than Napoleon. 'My mistress is power,' he said, and he refused to allow that he gained it by innate genius. 'I know what labour, what sleepless nights, what scheming, it has involved.' To gain power he would stop at nothing, the execution of individuals, or the overthrow of a nation. But it was not merely by hard work that he obtained his ends; no one had ever such a clear insight into the workings of the human mind, and no one has known better how to play on men's feelings. In dealing with individuals, when he could not dazzle them with his personality, he invariably tried to cow them with his rage. In handling large masses of people, none knew better how to allure them by appealing to their sense of generosity or their feelings of indignation. His proclamations to his soldiers were masterpieces in the art of inflaming the imagination. He was ever casting over in his mind how to educate public opinion. During his campaigns, we find him dictating orders as to the education of women, the training of artists at the Académie Française, or the erection of statues to mayors of village communes who had successfully reduced the parish debt. No detail was too small to be overlooked. The *Moniteur*, the official paper, contained the view he wanted to be taken of events, but all newspapers were employed, as occasion required, to hoodwink public opinion. Every act, every word had its particular object: the recognition of an old soldier in the ranks, the wearing of parade dress when passing through an enemy's capital, or the particular emphasis to be laid on some exclamation in a theatrical performance. Part of this organised scheme was his professed belief in his

star. 'Caesar,' he said, 'was right to cite his good fortune and believe in it. That is a means of acting on the imagination of others without offending any one's self-love.'

In dealing with those countries which he had conquered, he employed the same principles which he found successful in France. In Germany, Italy and Poland the mass of the inhabitants were serfs. The advent of the Napoleonic armies spelt freedom: in the wake of these armies came French officials with new forms of administration, the abolition of serfdom, and the Code Napoléon. The regular taxation of the new administration was not so vexatious as the old feudal customs. In Germany, except perhaps in Prussia, there was no national feeling; many of the princes were glad to ally themselves with Napoleon against Austria, and at first at least the philosophical element was on the side of the French. In Italy there was no love for any of the old dynasties, and everywhere there was a strong party which longed for the erection of a national kingdom, and preferred the Napoleonic rule to the old state of affairs. It was only in Spain where serfdom did not exist, and where national pride was strong, that Napoleon failed from the first. It is strange indeed that he, usually so clear sighted, did not apprehend the lesson that the Spanish people taught him, that once the spirit of nationality spread through Europe his attempt to found a European empire was doomed to fail. He saw plainly how easy it was to overthrow the existing political organisations, and he seems to have thought that by hounding out of their country men like the Prussian, Stein, he could easily prevent the growth of patriotism. He failed to recognise that, by destroying the feudal system, he himself had given the greatest blow to the cosmopolitan system on which he hoped to build. As the years rolled on, in spite of the Russian campaign, he refused to relinquish his ambition of emulating Charlemagne. In 1813 and 1814, he rejected all

reasonable compromise: as he said to Metternich at Dresden, in 1813, 'If it costs me my throne, I will bring the whole world under its ruins.'

Whatever we think of Napoleon, whether we forgive his selfishness because of his marvellous capacity, or condone the harm that he did to individuals, because through despotism he broke down the old barriers of caste and paved the way for liberty, we are bound to acknowledge that he is one of the greatest men the world has ever known. 'I have fought fifty pitched battles,' he said, 'almost all of which I have won. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. I raised myself from nothing to be the most powerful monarch in the world.'

## CAVOUR

THE two great objects of the statesmen who assembled at Vienna, after the final overthrow of Napoleon, were (1) to find some permanent settlement, whereby the revolutionary spirit might be so stifled that it should never be able to burst forth again; and (2) so to rearrange the map of Europe that they might re-establish the old 'balance of power.' The idea of nationality had no place in their schemes. France was restricted to her boundaries of 1789: Sweden was confined to the north side of the Baltic, where, as a reward for her services against Napoleon, she found in Norway a compensation for the loss of Pomerania. The Netherlands were transferred to Holland by Austria, who received in exchange Lombardy and Venetia: Prussia was gratified by the acquisition of part of Saxony and Westphalia, which brought her scattered territories up to the Rhine. Poland was repartitioned between Austria, Prussia and Russia; while the place of the Holy Roman Empire was to be taken by a new Germanic Confederation.

To secure the stability of the system various ideas were mooted. The Czar desired a Holy Alliance to give religious sanction to the scheme; but it received greater security by the formation, in November 1815, of the Quadruple Alliance of England, Austria, Prussia and Russia. The alliance was in reality aimed at France: but it had a wider scope, as it sought to set up a Confederation of Europe, to consolidate the intimate relations which now united the four sovereigns for the world's happiness, and to create measures 'for the repose and prosperity of the peoples.' A further



guarantee for the permanency of the settlement was sought in the doctrine of 'Legitimacy,' propounded by Talleyrand; the idea being that the governments found their sanction in long possession, in the same way that private property finds its title in prescription. The outbreak of the revolutionary spirit in Germany, and plots to murder the Czar and the Duke of Wellington, soon proved that France was not the greatest danger to the settlement of 1815; accordingly, in 1818, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle she was allowed to join the Quadruple Alliance, which, in spite of the protests of England, began to assume the appearance of a combination of the greater governments to repress liberty in every part of Europe.

Nowhere had the Napoleonic system been more popular than in Italy. As we have seen, owing to her geographical structure and to the predominance, first, of the empire and, later, of the Papacy, Italy had never become a nation: local and municipal interests had defeated the idea of nationality: municipal self-government had fallen a prey to political adventurers; and, by the eighteenth century, Italy was a mere conglomeration of states for the most part ruled by foreigners. Still, throughout the peninsula men spoke the same language, held the same religion, but had little other community of interest, except that every Italian was proud of the great art and literature of the Italian Renaissance and, above all, of the ancient glories of Rome. Even in the eighteenth century the national spirit had begun to take root, and hence it was that the armies of the Revolution were greeted with an enthusiasm which not even the greed of the Directory could kill. The Napoleonic kingdoms of Italy and Naples to some extent fulfilled these aspirations for national unity, while by the introduction of the Code Napoléon and the revision of the criminal code, liberty and security were guaranteed to an extent hitherto unknown.

In 1814, the allies held out hopes that a united kingdom of Italy might be forthcoming. But with the fall of Napoleon the old state of affairs was brought back. Metternich could only see in the word Italy 'a geographical expression.' Under his guidance Austria received Lombardy and Venetia; Tuscany, Parma and Modena became states for Hapsburg archdukes; the papal legations of Ferrara, Bologna and Reggio, and the district of Romagna, were once again restored to the pope; the Bourbons returned to Naples, and the house of Savoy to Turin. Of all these settlements the most unpopular was the annexation of Lombardy and Venetia by Austria, and the most popular was the return of the house of Savoy from Sardinia. The dukes of Savoy had gained Piedmont and Sardinia early in the eighteenth century, with the title of Kings of Sardinia: their policy had been so to hang on the outskirts of every European war, that at the conclusion of peace they might be able to demand a small addition to their territories; in fact, gradually to eat up Lombardy like 'an artichoke.' In continuance of this policy, at the Congress of Vienna Victor Emmanuel had contrived to gain the inclusion of the old republic of Genoa within his domains. Although he had come back with all his old-fashioned ideas and prejudices, and had refused to grant a constitution, the old king was not unpopular: from the first he set himself to maintain the independence of his country, and to resist the attempt which Austria was making, of forming a league of Italian princes under the leadership of the emperor.

In 1820, came the Spanish revolution, followed by the insurrection of Naples. In a moment all Italy was in commotion. The king of Naples, bowing before the storm, granted his kingdom the constitution demanded, modelled on the Spanish Constitution of 1812. In Piedmont there was a rising in which the army took part. The liberal party looked for assistance to Charles Albert of

Carignano, who, after the king's brother, Charles Felix, was next in succession to the throne. The old king resigned in favour of his brother, and as Charles Felix was absent in Modena, the regency fell into the hands of Charles Albert. But this prince, in spite of his liberal inclinations, lacked courage. The Austrians defeated the Piedmontese at Novara; Charles Felix returned and Charles Albert withdrew into retirement, distrusted by both parties, revolutionary and reactionary alike. Then followed, in 1821, the conference at Laibach, at which Austria was entrusted with the task of stamping out the revolution in Naples. Two years later France conducted a similar mission in Spain.

The brutal measures meted out to the revolutionaries failed to quench their spirit. Abroad the Italian patriots saw with delight the rising of the down-trodden Greeks against the Turks, while at the Congress of Verona England protested against the policy of interference by the powers in the private policy of other states. In Italy a new movement came to birth which was powerful for good. Repressed by the governments, the Italians had during Napoleon's time formed secret societies, with the object of attaining their aims. The chief of these was the Carbonari. This society was an offshoot of the Neapolitan Freemasons, formed during Murat's rule. After 1815, the society fell into the hands of those who were opposed to the bigoted and tyrannous rule of the restored princes. But it was suffering from decadence; it had lost touch with the masses, and was mainly composed of middle-aged professional men who discouraged the younger and more enthusiastic, and its incompetence to achieve any good had clearly been shown, during the years 1820-1821. In 1831, the year in which Prince Charles Albert succeeded to the throne of Sardinia, Mazzini, a young Genoese, disgusted with the Carbonari, full of violent hatred of the Austrians, had to fly from Italy. He hurried to France, where he had

great hopes of gaining for his country the support of those who had been instrumental in the preceding year in overthrowing the Bourbons and establishing the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe. Finding these hopes delusive, he set about to found a society which should impregnate the masses of Italy with the desire for liberty. This was the famous society of 'Young Italy.' Mazzini's idea was to prove to the people that their only hope of amelioration and social improvement lay in the expulsion of the Austrians. He appealed to the young and to the lower classes, and soon his enthusiastic missionaries were enrolling recruits throughout the peninsula; while he and his band of workers were slaving in Lyons, organising, inciting, and collecting money. But while his idea of appealing to the people was sound, Mazzini unfortunately relied on a system of plots and petty revolts. Meanwhile, there was growing up in Piedmont a party whose aim, like Mazzini's, was the expulsion of the Austrians, but who were convinced that this could only be brought about by the means of a regular army; and who aimed at making Piedmont the nucleus round which the other Italians might gather. To this party belonged Cavour.

Camillo Basso di Cavour, the second son of the Marquis Michele Giuseppe di Cavour, was born in 1810. His father, an upholder of the Napoleonic system, had held the office of grand chamberlain to the Prince Borghese, when the husband of Pauline Bonaparte was governor of the Hautes Alpes, as Piedmont was termed. Camillo was named after the Prince Borghese, who acted as his godfather, and Princess Pauline held him in her arms at the font. When quite a small boy he was for a time page to Charles Albert: but he was soon sent back to school as unfit for the duty, an occurrence which by no means displeased him, as he remarked that 'he was glad he had thrown off his pack-saddle.' When sixteen years old he was given a commis-

sion as a distinction for his ability in passing examinations, and he was allowed to enter the army at eighteen, two years before the regulation time. Owing to his exceptional mathematical ability he was posted to the engineers. But his military career was short: some rash expression of liberal opinion was reported at court, and as a punishment he was detailed for garrison duty at the solitary fort of Barde. When his year there was finished he resigned his commission.

The young count, smarting under persecution for his liberalism, joined one of the secret societies. But he had no great belief in conspiracies or insurrections, and he was almost as much opposed to the schemes of Mazzini as to those of Metternich. Accordingly, in 1833, he determined to travel abroad. He resided for some time in France and in Switzerland, living to the outward eye the idle life of a rich young nobleman, at one time losing as much as £5000 at the gaming-tables; but all the time studying the politics and interior economy of the governments of the countries in which he resided. The following letter, written at the age of twenty-four, during the first year of his absence, is worthy of note: 'I am very grateful, madame, to you, for the interest you are kind enough to take in my misfortunes; but I can assure you I shall make my way notwithstanding. I own that I am ambitious—enormously ambitious—and when I am minister I hope I shall justify my ambition. In my dreams I see myself already minister of the kingdom of Italy.' Here, then, lay the goal to which he was looking forward, a united Italy, and to this ideal he devoted his life. With the view of understanding thoroughly the details of agricultural economics, he spent two years managing the large estates in the Ardennes of his aunt, the Duchess of Clermont-Tonnerre. He made occasional visits to England, spending the greater part of his time in the gallery of the House of Commons,



studying parliamentary procedure. From his youth an omnivorous reader, every day for hours he studied contemporary political literature, and to the end of his life he took in and read the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Economist*.

Cavour's genius lay in the fact that he could conceive what was possible and reduce the possibility to reality. Abstract speculation which led to nothing tangible, ideal schemes which could not be developed into practice, were alike distasteful to him. 'His desire and plans and faith were all bounded by what was practicable, possible and realisable.' Accordingly, when he first returned to Italy, in 1842, he devoted his energies to practical schemes for the good of society, and threw himself heart and soul into the foundation of infant orphan asylums. But he was forced to resign his appointment on the managing committee of these asylums, as his reputed liberalism was supposed to be detrimental to the pecuniary interests of the institutions. Thereafter he took a leading part in the foundation of the 'Sardinian Agricultural Society.' Charles Albert long hesitated to grant the society a charter, as he was afraid it might become a political association: as indeed it soon did. All sorts of political as well as agricultural problems were discussed, and thanks to this society the liberals fell into two distinct parties: The popular party who sought to give the supreme power in the association to the vote of the majority; and the aristocratic party—among whom was Cavour—who insisted that the president of the society should always have the initiative and the power of the veto. Cavour was one of the society's most active members. 'During all his life he held firm to the idea that political liberty was useless or impossible unless it was accompanied by commercial and industrial prosperity, and that in promoting the latter you are really securing the former as well.'

Occupied thus with the practical work of founding institutions and managing his own estates at Leri, during the first four years of his return to his native land Cavour found time to write articles for French and Italian magazines on 'The State and Prospects of Ireland,' 'Communism,' 'Italian Railroads,' 'The Influence of English Commercial Reform on Italy,' and 'Model Farms.' These articles are instructive as they illustrate the bent of his mind and his aspirations. He condemned O'Connell's attempt to repeal the union, not because it was unjust, but because it was impossible. Communism and socialism, he showed, arose out of the conflict between the laws of property and the right of self-preservation. He maintained that 'the right of property, sacred and inviolable as it is within certain limits, is not an absolute and invincible principle.' The question of Italian railroads was a very burning one in 1845-1846. Charles Albert had warmly espoused the proposed scheme of the Mont Cenis tunnel. Cavour indeed was only voicing the royal aims when he foreshadowed a through connection from Paris to Naples, concluding with the words, 'The railroads will stretch without interruption from the Alps to Sicily, and will cause all the obstacles and distance to disappear, which separate the inhabitants of Italy, and hinder them from forming a great and single nation.'

While the progress of material civilisation was thus advancing the designs of those who were working for the freedom and unification of Italy, literature and art were doing their share. 'The shade of Dante, the poet of the regenerated nation, began to brood over the spirit and silence of the land.' Foscolo and Gabriel Rossetti drew all the reading world of Italy to their great sun. There were now, in fact, three distinct parties all working for the same end, but by different means. There was the party of which Cavour was at present merely an active member,

but who later were proud to acknowledge his lead. This party aimed at advancing the Italian cause by the material methods of savings banks, agricultural societies, and railways. They foresaw a severe struggle with Austria, and relied on the Sardinian army and foreign helpers, for as Cavour wrote, they considered that 'the emancipation of a people cannot now be the result of a plot or a surprise.' Then there was Mazzini's party, who relied on plot and surprise, and aimed at establishing a united and free Italy under a republican form of government. Last of all there was the party of the Illuminati, who thought to unify Italy under a regenerated Papacy, through an enlightened pope.

The chief leaders of the Illuminati were Gioberti, the author of *The Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians*, and Cesare Balbo, chief minister of Charles Albert. Their ideas seemed to be on the point of realisation when, in 1846, Pius IX. (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) was raised to the papal throne. Unfortunately the new pope's reputation for liberalism and ability did not bear the test of time. As he said, 'They want to make a Napoleon of me, who am only a poor country parson.' Still his first acts, an amnesty for political offenders, the creation of a Council of State to which laymen were eligible, the restoration to Rome of the municipality, and the erection of a Civil Guard, created enormous enthusiasm. This rose to white heat when he opposed the violation of Ferrara, which Austria occupied, in July 1847, on the pretext of quelling a local disturbance. In a moment Italy seemed to throw off her sluggishness, and from one end to the other, in every state, men demanded a constitution, while Italian exiles began to hurry home from all over the world, like Garibaldi from Montevideo.

Meanwhile, in December 1847, Cavour and Cesare Balbo founded the *Risorgimento*, of which Cavour was the first

editor. In the opening number he wrote: 'This journal will labour with all its power to create and promote the movement of our commercial resurrection. It will seek out all intelligence, which may be useful to commerce and to agriculture or manufacturing industry. It will endeavour to diffuse sound economical doctrines, combating all false ones, which owe their existence to ancient prejudices, or serve as a cloak for the promotion of private interests. . . . It will give its most active co-operation to the removal of all internal duties, so that the economical unity of Italy may be rendered possible; but, on the other hand, it will recommend a continuous, though decidedly cautious, progress in the removal of all duties which are raised on foreign imports.'

A few days after the establishment of the *Risorgimento*, Cavour leaped into prominence as one of the foremost advocates of a constitution. A meeting was summoned of the chief statesmen of the day, which included the Piedmontese ministers d'Azeglio and Santa Rossa, to send an address to Ferdinand, King of Naples, urging him to unite with Charles Albert and the pope in 'the policy of Providence, forgiveness, civilisation and Christian charity.' Cavour, to the surprise of all, opposed the address. 'What is the use of these reforms,' he asked, 'which conclude nothing? . . . Let us demand a constitution. . . . Let it be granted before it is too late: before social authority is dissolved and overthrown by the clamour of the multitude.' Unfortunately, both in the case of Naples and of Piedmont, Cavour's advice was unheeded, and a constitution was granted as the result of popular clamour instead of being a wise concession by the government.

Cavour was a member of the commission appointed to draw up the new electoral laws. His intimate knowledge of the various constitutions of Europe made him at once an authority on the subject, and his propositions became the

base of these laws. Universal suffrage he considered might be suitable in the matter of simple national questions. Indeed, later, he adopted the plebiscite on the question of the annexation of the Italian states. But for the election of deputies to the legislature he demanded three qualifications: first, independence from bribery; second, intelligence sufficient to choose a candidate; and third, a stake in the promotion of social order. These were arrived at by establishing as qualifications the contribution of £4 annually in taxes, and the payment of a rental of £24 and upwards, or the pursuit of a liberal trade or profession. Voting by ballot, and a senate nominated for life, also became the law of the land. Finally, he arranged for the admission of the public to the galleries of the parliament house, because 'there is no popular education so valuable to a free people as that of listening to the debates of its assembly.'

While Piedmont was busy with its new constitution, day by day war grew nearer. Austria as ever stood for despotism, and now Piedmont stood for freedom, and the two systems could not exist together. It was against Naples that Austria first turned her arms; but at the moment she was preparing to launch her forces the news came of the outbreak of the Revolution in Paris. Within a week the standards of revolt were raised throughout Germany and in Vienna itself, whence Metternich had to flee to London. The people of Italy thought their hour had come. After five days' fighting the populace of Milan expelled the Austrian garrison. Venice flung herself free of her oppressors, the archduke fled from Parma, and, on March 23rd, Charles Albert declared war against Austria. 'The hour of life or death has struck for the Sardinian monarchy,' so wrote Cavour in the *Risorgimento*, 'the hour of strong counsels, the hour on which depend the fate of empires and the destiny of nations. . . . There is but



one path open for the nation, the country, and the king. War! War at once and without delay.'

The rising against Austria was at first everywhere successful; and the Sardinian army, backed by volunteers from Venice, Milan, the papal states, and returned exiles from America and other countries, like Garibaldi, defeated the enemy at Goito and elsewhere. But Radetzky, the Austrian field-marshal, clung to the Quadrilateral—the armed base guarded by the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, on the Mincio, and of Verona and Legnago, on the Adige. At Custozza, on July 25th, he assumed the offensive and, defeating the Sardinians, soon reoccupied Milan. The result was, no doubt, to a great extent due to the better military organisation of the Austrians, but it was due also, to a considerable extent, to the political and administrative chaos at Milan, where Mazzini with his republican ideas had opposed the incorporation of Lombardy in Piedmont: while the military reinforcements promised by Ferdinand of Naples, which might just have turned the scale, were purposely held back until too late.

During these events Cavour remained at Turin, editing his paper and taking his share in the newly established parliament, which was occupied with the question of the incorporation of Lombardy. After the recapture of Milan he recognised that, for the moment, there was nothing for it but to make peace and await a more favourable opportunity for liberating Italy. The democratic party still believed that where the regular army had failed the volunteers might win. But Cavour saw clearly that Italy's sole hope was that her cause might be taken up in the diplomatic world by France or England; so, in spite of the bitter hostility of the popular party, during the armistice which lasted from August 1848 to March 1849, he opposed the continuation of the war. He thus expressed his views on the situation: 'There is only one standard by which we

can judge of the character of any policy whatever, and that is by its efficacy, by its power of producing the end in view. . . . In truth, what is it which has always ruined the noblest and most just of revolutions? The mania for revolutionary methods—the men who fancied they could render themselves independent of the everyday laws of nations.’ The result of this bold stand was that, at the elections in January, he lost his seat in parliament.

The new elections returned an overwhelming majority for the democratic party. All over Italy except in Naples and the Austrian provinces the revolutionists were in the ascendant. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the pope had fled to Gaeta, and at Rome Mazzini was organising a republic, and Garibaldi was commanding the troops. Gioberti, the new premier of Piedmont, an ex-monk, disliking the revolution as much as Cavour, desired to intervene on behalf of the grand duke and the pope, hoping thus to win their gratitude and form an Italian confederation supported by the pope and the clergy. Cavour lent his weight to this scheme; but the forces of revolution gained the day, Gioberti was succeeded as premier by Rattazzi: on March 13th, the armistice was denounced and the war resumed only to be ended ten days later by the defeat of the Sardinians at Novara.

On the evening after the battle Charles Albert seeing, as he said, ‘that my person is now the sole obstacle to a peace which has become inevitable,’ resigned his crown to his son Victor Emmanuel II., the *Re Galant'uomo*. A new era opened. Under the circumstances the one aim of the Sardinian statesmen was to secure the independence of their country. This they managed to do at the cost of a large war indemnity, and the temporary occupation of Alessandria by the Austrians. Still, as Cavour said, ‘we existed, and every day’s existence was a gain.’ But it was not till the king had twice dissolved parliament that a

majority was obtained to ratify the treaty. Cavour now regained his seat, sitting among the Moderate Liberals and becoming more and more a power in the land. Now that there was a constitution and reform was practicable, he had become an ardent reformer. 'Go on boldly then,' he said in March 1850, 'in the path of reform. Don't hesitate because you are told that the time is inexpedient: don't fear lest you should weaken the constitutional monarchy entrusted to your charge. Instead of weakening it you will cause it to take such firm root in the country, that even if the storm of revolution should arise around us, the monarchy will not only not succumb to the onslaught, but, collecting around it all the real forces of Italy, will lead our nation to the lofty destiny prepared for her.' Soon after this speech the Siccardi Laws were passed which abolished ecclesiastical courts and all their special jurisdictions. Though brought in by Siccardi they were really drafted and proposed by Cavour. They included the prevention of lay or ecclesiastical corporations from acquiring property without the consent of the government, and established the regulation of marriage as a civil contract. Cavour had a twofold object in desiring to open this most debatable subject. First, he wanted to carry out a reform which appealed to his deepest conviction; and, secondly, to see how far his associates of the Left Centre, that is the moderate Liberals, would obey his leadership.

In the autumn following the passing of these laws on the 'Foro Ecclesiastico,' Santa Rossa, the Minister of Agriculture, died, and public opinion at once fixed on Cavour as his successor. D'Azeglio proposed his name to the king, who remarked, 'I have no objection, but mark my words, the man will turn every one of you out before long.' Victor Emmanuel's prophecy soon came true. Day by day Cavour gradually usurped all the functions of the other ministers, and quickly became in all but name the government.

A year later, in November 1851, on the retirement of Nigra, he added the title of Minister of Finance to that of Agriculture and Commerce. In face of the bitter opposition of the clerical party, he leant more and more on the Left. In December 1851, came Napoleon's *coup d'état*, and the clericals and reactionaries thought their time had arrived: but Cavour and d'Azeglio saw they had nothing to fear from a Bonaparte, because of necessity he was opposed to the dynastic system established, in 1815, by the Congress of Vienna. The result, however, of Cavour's dependence on the Left was that, in May 1852, the ministry resigned, and d'Azeglio formed a new ministry without him. Thereon the count seized the opportunity to visit Paris, where he had several interviews with Louis Napoleon, who, as president of the assembly, was on the eve of carrying out the *coup d'état* which established the second empire.

Meanwhile at home d'Azeglio was in vain attempting to arrive at a compromise with the pope. The ministry, finding themselves unable to carry out their plans, resigned; and the king, after trying one or two expedients, was forced to send for Cavour, who, for the next nine years, with a few short intervals, was sole premier of Piedmont.

As prime minister Cavour's ultimate object was the unification of Italy by the gradual absorption of the other states. Piedmont was to be made so materially and politically predominant, that she should attract to herself the other states of the peninsula. To effect this, it was necessary that she should exceed all the other states in political, social and commercial progress, and that she should be recognised by the powers as one of themselves. Cavour accordingly spent large sums on equipping the army and navy, in reconstructing fortresses and building ships: he promoted the railway system of Piedmont, subsidised lines of steamers between Genoa and South America, established co-operative societies, agrarian banks, and

cheapened the necessaries of life and raw material. To find the money for these schemes, he abolished nearly all protective duties and established in their place direct taxes, which he supplemented by heavy loans. His policy, in his own words, was: 'In order to restore the equilibrium of our finances, we have deliberately resolved not to restrict our expenditure, and by so doing renounce every idea of improvement and every great enterprise . . . but rather to effect our ends by developing the elements of progress our state possesses, and by stimulating in every portion of our country all the industrial and economical activity of which it is found capable.' A dangerous policy no doubt in the hands of an adventurer, but one that was eminently successful as manipulated by a man who never aimed at the ideal but only at the practical. Finally, in the face of bitter opposition, he passed the Legge Rattazziana, whereby the income of the bishops and wealthy clergy was reduced, a number of useless convents abolished: the money thus obtained, supplemented by a subvention of a million francs per annum from the state, was used to increase the salaries of the lower clergy.

In foreign politics, Cavour worked unceasingly to strengthen Piedmont's position for the struggle against Austria which he knew was inevitable. One of his first acts was to break off diplomatic relations between Turin and Vienna, on the occasion of the Austrian government confiscating the Lombard estates of all Piedmontese subjects. Next, on the outbreak of the Crimean war, he offered the help of Sardinia to the western powers. His object in so doing was twofold: first, to checkmate Austria, who, on December 2nd, 1854, had promised under certain circumstances to take active part against Russia. For Cavour saw that if this happened, and Russia was crushed, all hope for Italy would disappear; for on the conclusion of the war the destiny of Europe would be



settled by a congress, in which Austria would be all-powerful. The very just comment of an Austrian minister on Cavour's action was, '*C'est un coup de pistolet tiré à bout portant aux oreilles de l'Autriche.*' His second reason for joining the allies was to wipe off the moral effects of the defeats of Custozza and Novara, and to prove to the world that Italians were not merely conspirators. 'It is my belief,' he said, 'that the principal, nay the vital, condition for the amelioration of Italy's position is to re-establish her reputation, to cause all the nations of the world, governments as well as peoples, to render justice to her great qualities. To attain this object two things are needful: first, to prove to Europe that Italy has civil training enough to govern herself regularly, to rule herself with freedom, and to support the most perfect form of government that has yet been discovered; and, secondly, to show that her military valour is equal to that of her ancestors.' This last fact La Marmora and his twenty-five thousand Sardinian soldiers proved on the field of Tchernaya.

Cavour's bold policy had its reward; during a visit to Paris, in 1855, Napoleon said to him, '*Que peut-on faire pour l'Italie?*' In the following year Cavour himself represented Italy at the Congress of Paris, and had his opportunity, before the congress rose, of calling attention to the state of Italy; and well he might, for persecution and torture had reached such a pitch in Naples under Ferdinand II., the notorious Bomba, that Gladstone said the government was 'a negation of God.' In the provinces subject to Austria matters were little better. The congress did nothing, but Cavour had raised a solemn warning that the government of Sardinia 'disturbed within by the action of revolutionary passions, and excited without by a system of violent repression and foreign occupations, and threatened by the extension of Austrian power, might at any moment be forced by an inevitable necessity to adopt

extreme measures, of which it is impossible to foresee the consequences.'

The years 1857-1858 were years of great commercial prosperity and industrial progress, and, by 1858, it seemed as if it might be possible to effect an equilibrium between the receipts and expenditure. Meanwhile, Cavour was drawing Piedmont closer and closer to France, with the deliberate intention of forcing on a war with Austria. For a moment the murderous attack of the Italian Orsini on Napoleon seemed to shake the alliance; but, in June 1858, the French emperor invited Cavour to meet him at Plombières. There, under the trees, three points were settled: first, war with Austria; second, the marriage of the Princess Clotilde, eldest daughter of Victor Emmanuel, and Prince Napoleon; and third, the cession of Nice and Savoy to France. Cavour's plan was to isolate Austria, by forcing on her the odium of declaring war: but Napoleon very nearly spoiled it by his rude reception of the Austrian ambassador, on New Year's Day 1859. However, Cavour managed at one and the same time to curb the revolutionary spirit in Italy, and to obtain the assent of the chambers to a war loan. Meanwhile, volunteers were pouring into Piedmont from all over Italy; a division of them was entrusted to Garibaldi, whose exploits in Montevideo had been surpassed by his wonderful escape from Rome, in 1849. On April 27th, Austria launched her ultimatum demanding the immediate disarmament of the Sardinian forces. Three days later they were marching to the frontier with the king at their head. 'It is done,' said Cavour to his friends. '*Alea jacta est.* We have made some history and now to dinner.'

In the short campaign which followed, the French and Sardinians beat the Austrians at Magenta, on June 4th, and at Solferino and San Martino, on the 24th. Meanwhile, Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Bologna rose in obedience

to the instructions of the National Society, and offered the dictatorship to Victor Emmanuel. Cavour at once sent royal commissioners to administer these provinces during the war. Ferrara, the Romagna, the Marches and Umbria also rose, only to be overawed by the papal troops. But suddenly the situation changed. Napoleon thought he had done enough, and did not care to risk a rebuff by attacking the Quadrilateral: meanwhile, he knew that Prussia and Austria were urging Germany to arm to resist French aggression. Accordingly, without consulting Victor Emmanuel, on July 6th, he entered into negotiations with the enemy, which ended two days later in the armistice of Villafranca. The news of the suspension of hostilities, for the moment, almost drove Cavour off his mental balance, and after offering the king the wildest of advice he resigned. However, the last counsel he gave to his sovereign was to accept the peace, as far as accomplished facts were concerned, but not to pledge himself to anything beyond that. After a congress held at Zürich, a treaty was signed, in November, whereby Austria ceded Lombardy to Sardinia, but retained the Quadrilateral and Venice. Their former rulers were to be restored to Tuscany, Parma, Modena and the Legations; but no mention was made as to how the restoration was to be effected, for Napoleon refused to hear of armed intervention, and the revolted provinces insisted on union with Piedmont. Hence it was that after returning from Switzerland, 'the sanatorium of wounded politicians,' to his family estate at Leri, Cavour was able to write to Prince Jerome Napoleon, 'How often have I, in this solitude of Leri, felt thankful for the peace of Villafranca.'

But the French emperor demanded his pound of flesh; and he told Rattazzi, who had succeeded Cavour, that the price he required, for allowing the provinces to be incorporated in the Sardinian realm, was the cession of Nice and Savoy. The demand appalled Rattazzi, who resigned,

and, on January 23rd, 1860 Cavour once again became premier. By a plebiscite taken on March 11th and 12th, the duchies unanimously decided on union, and a week later Victor Emmanuel signed the decree. But a few days afterwards, on March 24th, Cavour was obliged to put his name to the Treaty of Turin, ceding Nice and Savoy to France, remarking as he did so to the French plenipotentiary, 'Now we are fellow criminals.'

Cavour was strong enough to weather the storm which followed the publication of the treaty. Savoy, indeed, had always been more French than Italian, and even in Nice a large part of the population was French. The meeting, on April 3rd, of the first parliament composed of deputies from Piedmont, Tuscany, Liguria, Lombardy, Romagna, and the duchies, and the outbreak two days later of the revolution in Sicily, turned public attention to other matters. Of the Sicilian revolution Cavour thought little, and it would probably have soon died out, in spite of the obstinate attitude of the young king, Francis II., Bomba's successor, had not Garibaldi suddenly left his retreat at Caprera with the expressed intention of completing the unity of Italy. Cavour said at the time that 'this was not *one* of the most difficult but *the* most difficult conjuncture in which he had ever been placed.' In the state of public opinion it was almost impossible to stop Garibaldi and his 'Thousand' who sailed for Sicily, on May 5th, with the watchword 'Italy and Victor Emmanuel.' Cavour knew well that the originators of the expedition were really Mazzini and the republicans; he also knew that in the long run the kingdom of Naples was bound to fall into line with the rest of Italy. But he was in no great hurry for this event, for he understood the differences which divided the men of the north from the men of the south: he desired time to complete the incorporation of the new union, before adding to the present difficulties by

having to assimilate the Neapolitans. Further, he knew that Garibaldi was furious with him for consenting to the cession of Savoy and Nice : for Garibaldi was born at Nice. To add to these difficulties the king of Naples, seeing his danger, granted a constitution, and proposed an offensive and defensive alliance with Piedmont.

The best illustration of Cavour's attitude to the Sicilian expedition is his instructions to Admiral Persano, who commanded the Sardinian fleet : ' Try to navigate between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers. I hope you understand me.' To which the admiral replied : ' I believe I understand you ; if I am mistaken, you can send me to prison.' By August 22nd, Garibaldi, thanks to the screen of Sardinian warships, was able to cross from Sicily, which he had conquered, to the mainland ; a fortnight later he entered Naples, whence Francis II. had fled. Lightning-like rapidity was the essence of Garibaldi's success. The great free-lance relied on audacity and heroism, blended with craft and good luck. But he had also to thank the Bourbons, for by their cruelty and ineptitude they had reduced their country to a state of disintegration and rottenness.

Garibaldi's success, however, did not lighten Cavour's difficulties. Garibaldi was proclaimed dictator at Naples, whither Mazzini had hurried, urging him to advance on Rome. Meanwhile, the Mazzinians were clamouring against the proposed union of Naples and Sicily with Piedmont ; Francis II., hoping that foreign help might arrive, was proposing negotiations ; while at Rome, Pius IX. was in favour of a crusade on the part of the legitimists against France. Cavour now saw that the time had come to strike. ' Italy must be saved from foreigners, evil principles, and—madmen.' With Napoleon's message, ' Make haste and good luck,' ringing in his ears he set the army in motion in September. After crushing the papal troops at



Castelfidardo, the Sardinians pushed on, with their king, through the papal states, and arrived on the Volturno, on October 13th, the day after Garibaldi had come into contact with the troops of Francis outside Gaeta. The situation had indeed been critical, for if Garibaldi had entered Rome he would have been opposed by the French garrison, and Napoleon would have been obliged to intervene to conciliate the clerical party. Further, it was certain that, once at Rome, the republican party would prevail on Garibaldi to proclaim a republic, which he would have done: for his hatred of Cavour was so great that he had already written to Victor Emmanuel offering him the immediate annexation of southern Italy if he would dismiss Cavour from office. Hence it was that Cavour wrote to the Italian ambassador, 'If we do not arrive on the Volturno before Garibaldi arrives at La Cattolica, the monarchy is lost. Italy will remain a prey to revolution.'

When Victor Emmanuel and his army appeared in Naples, Garibaldi at once recognised his authority. By Cavour's advice the question of annexation was decided by the popular assemblies of Naples and Sicily, and in both cases the party who desired annexation triumphed. On October 25th, Garibaldi met his sovereign at Caianello, and hailed him as King of Italy. A week later the Marches and Umbria gave their unanimous vote in favour of annexation. So except for Rome and Venice all Italy was now united. The question of Venice could only be settled by another war with Austria, which depended necessarily on European politics; but the question of Rome was the more pressing. It was clear that the prestige of the Sardinian monarchy would depend on its ability to extinguish the temporal power of the Papacy, and to make Rome the capital of Italy. To prove to Italians that it was not only the party of Garibaldi and Mazzini who desired the recovery of Rome, Cavour made his famous speech, on

October 12th, 1860, in which he stated that like others he desired to make Rome 'the magnificent capital of the new Italian kingdom.'

As regards the question of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Papacy, Cavour summed up his policy in the words, 'a free church in a free state' (*libera chiesa in libero stato*). As he said, 'In my opinion, then, the independence and dignity of the sovereign pontiff, as well as the independence of the Church, would be protected by the separation of the temporal and spiritual authority, by the application of the principle of liberty to the relations of civil and religious society.' Cavour at once tried to enter into negotiations with the Papacy on this basis, but he soon found to his cost that the Curia would not break with the past; and all who took part in the attempt, great and small, were banished from Rome. Thereon he turned his attention to the problem of inducing the French to evacuate Rome. While still busy with these negotiations, and striving to solve the difficulty of the settlement of Sicily without interference with the law—'Anybody,' he used to say, 'can govern with a state of siege'—the news arrived that Garibaldi was leaving Caprera to demand from him an account of his stewardship. On April 16th, the great free-lance took his seat in parliament, and at once opened a bitter attack on his enemy, on the charge that his expedition to the Marches and Umbria was an attempt to stir up civil war. For the moment Cavour's self-control broke down, but his passion was of short duration, and he ended by saying, 'I knew that between me and the honourable General Garibaldi there exists a fact which divides us like an abyss. I believe that I fulfilled a painful duty—the most painful I ever accomplished in my life—in counselling the king and proposing to parliament the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. By the grief that I then experienced I can understand that which the honourable General

Garibaldi must have felt, and if he cannot forgive me this act, I will not bear him any grudge for it.'

The king induced Garibaldi to consent to an apparent reconciliation: but Cavour had received his death-blow. Following on the fatigues and long-continued strain of the last year, the shock of Garibaldi's attack had shattered his nerve centre, and his constitution had lost its power of resistance. At the end of May, he was attacked by a fever, from which he never rallied. A day or two before his death he sent for his friend Fra Giacomo, who at the time of the passing of the Siccardi Laws had promised in spite of whatever the Church might say to give him the last sacrament. 'Let us say a prayer for you, my son,' said the old priest. 'Yes, father,' said the dying statesman, 'but let us pray, too, for Italy.'

For some months Cavour had foreseen his end. 'I must make haste to finish my work as soon as possible,' he said to a friend. 'I feel that this miserable body of mine is giving way beneath the mind and will, which still urge it on.' But though he did not live long enough to see the completion—the annexation of Venice, after the war of 1866, or the occupation of Rome, in 1870, during the Franco-Prussian war—these events were the outcome of his life's work, and without him they would have been impossible. It is certain that if it had not been for Cavour's steady statesmanship, by which Sardinia was made the sure foundation on which the kingdom of Italy was built up bit by bit, the fate of the Italian peninsula would have been the fate of Poland—a country without a name.

Cavour was a genuine Piedmontese at heart, and in spite of his political enmities was beloved by the populace, who fondly called him 'Papa Camillo.' To the end of his life, in spite of his success, he remained a simple, unaffected gentleman, whose greatest delight was to put aside the cares of office, and steal off to the country to inspect his

estates at Leri. On his person he bestowed no attention ; when one suit was worn out he ordered another of the same cut, colour and cloth. One of his acquaintances thus describes him : ' The squat—and I know no better term—pot-bellied form ; the small, stumpy legs ; the short round arms, with hands stuck constantly in the trousers' pockets ; the thick neck, in which you could see the veins swelling ; the scant, thin hair ; the blurred, blotched face ; and the sharp grey eyes covered by the goggle spectacles—these things must be known to all who have cared enough about Italy to examine the likeness of her greatest statesman. The dress itself seemed a part and property of the man. The snuff-coloured tailcoat ; the grey, worn and wrinkled trousers ; the black silk double tie, seeming, loose as it was, a world too tight for the swollen neck it was fastened around ; the crumpled shirt ; the brown satin single-breasted waistcoat, half unbuttoned, as though the wearer wanted breath, with a short massive gold chain hanging down in front, seemed to be in fitness with that quaint, world-known figure.'

Such Cavour appeared to the outward eye. Inwardly as a man he was the soul of honour, ready to sacrifice his comforts, his money, his home, and his life on behalf of his country. In his younger days at a meeting of the Political Economical Society of Paris, Léon Faucher laughingly said to him : ' Ah, count, those plans of yours are of the kind men concert at the minister's door, and throw carefully out of the window as soon as they get inside.' Cavour replied almost angrily : ' That may be your policy, sir, but, for my part, I give my word of honour, if ever I rise to power, I will carry out my ideas or relinquish my office.' The most casual reader must confess that what Cavour promised that he performed. During the years 1840-1848 the count entered largely into speculations in railways, steam-mills, and other indus-

trial concerns, which did much to improve the economic condition of the country, and brought him in a large return. But when, in 1854, he became Finance Minister, he sold all his shares at a considerable loss, because he considered that a minister ought not to be liable to the suspicion even of promoting his private interests.

As a statesman Cavour stands as the exponent of the school of practical politics. He had the great gift of comprehending hard facts and making logical conclusions. Foresight and moderation were the pillars of his success. In the material world he grasped the fact that a prosperous state tends to become a liberal state. Therefore he set himself to study economics and to promote industrial expansion, knowing that the result would be social amelioration, and that in its turn the higher standard of comfort would react on the political situation. He rightly saw that conspiracies are a sign of weakness; cloudy theories he abhorred; democratic ideals he distrusted, for he was essentially a conservative by nature; but, while he recognised the value of institutions, in the hour of revolution he could see nothing in empty forms. Hence it was that he was able to adapt to the use of the monarchy all the enthusiasm which Mazzini had inspired into the party of 'Young Italy,' and to avail himself of the ardour and courage of Garibaldi.

Nothing is more remarkable than his foresight and grasp of European politics. By November 1848, as an argument for making peace with Austria, we find him using these words: 'Let us wait a short time and we shall see, as a fruit of the revolutionary measures, Louis Napoleon upon the throne of France.' That he should foresee the empire three years before its birth may not seem so remarkable; but that, contrary to all the opinions of the day, he should discern in Napoleon the friend and liberator of Italy is a great tribute to his political sagacity.



As the founder of the modern parliamentary system in Italy, Cavour, as we have seen, borrowed largely from England ; and, thanks to his study of continental governments and also to his personal character, he was able to play the part of a constitutional minister while really wielding, with the concurrence of his colleagues and the nation, all the powers of a dictator. His native insight into character enabled him to catch the drift of popular feeling, and he never hesitated to use any party if he thought it was for the good of the state. As one of his admirers wrote, ' Fanaticism or industry, authority or enthusiasm, craft or heroism, are instruments which he employs and controls.' In the Cabinet his personality triumphed over all jealousy and selfishness, while in the House he ever relied upon logic, not on rhetoric, and compelled men to his side by his inherent energy.

Mr. Frederic Harrison's appreciation of him, written shortly before his death, is scarcely too eulogistic:—' His state papers would be models of art, if they were not standards of historic fact. With all his intuition and love of order and law, he sees that these are not ends but means. In a crisis he can rise superior to any action but that of public safety and duty. To habitual industry in preparation he unites an impetuous rapidity of execution, and however careful in husbanding his resources he is prodigal of them in action. His most daring schemes are all within the limits of reasonable safety : if he oversteps legality he remains true to right. . . . He shows us how power can be gathered in one hand, yet be but the expression of national will. Nor less is he an instance of a statesman who conserves whilst he changes, who conciliates order and movement, tradition and expansion, the past and present ; who innovates without convulsion and modifies without destruction. Thus he is to us the type of the real popular dictator, and the statesman of true conservative progress.'

Yet while we grant all these great qualities to Cavour, we must remember that it was thanks to the striking qualities of Victor Emmanuel, to his loyalty to his minister, and to his courage at every crisis, that Cavour was granted the opportunity of leading Italy along the path of unity. Without Victor Emmanuel there could have been no Cavour, and Italy would have had to pass through long years of misery and revolution before she emerged a united and independent nation.

## BISMARCK

THE story of the union of Germany runs parallel with that of the unification of Italy. The overthrow of Napoleon was mainly due to the strong wave of national feeling which swept over Germany after the failure of his Moscow campaign. But no sooner was the War of Liberation brought to a successful close than a period of reaction set in. There were many causes which contributed to this result. The peasants were busily engaged restoring their ruined homesteads; the middle classes were entirely occupied in commercial and manufacturing regeneration; while the statesmen were fully engaged, in some cases, in restoring the old governments, in others, in organising the new provinces allotted to them by the Congress of Vienna. But the main reason for the lack of progress during the twenty-five years following the war, was the excessive number of questions which had to be dealt with. 'Germany at one and the same moment was confronted with nearly all the problems which in England took ten centuries to solve—the relics of feudalism, the relation between the executive and the legislature, and between Church and state, and the strength of centrifugal forces.'

To fill the void occasioned by the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, in 1806, the Congress of Vienna called into existence a new German confederation. It differed greatly from the old in that only thirty-nine states remained out of three hundred sovereign states which had composed the old empire. The knights (Reichsritter) had

disappeared, only four free cities—Frankfort, Lübeck, Hamburg and Bremen—remained; the ecclesiastical states had been wiped out by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1800). Austria had become a Slavonic and Italian power; she had sacrificed her position in Germany to her European ambition. Prussia was now the gréatest purely German power: but she was extremely unpopular, as her expansion had been gained at the expense of other German states. The South German states of Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden regarded both Austria and Prussia with fear: in these states liberalism found its support more in the dislike of military monarchies than in constitutional enthusiasm. By the Federal Act of the Congress of Vienna a diet (Bundestag) was set up in permanent session at Frankfort, in which every sovereign state was represented. In the General Assembly (Plenum) of the diet, Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover and Würtemberg had four representatives each; Baden, Electoral Hesse, Grand Ducal Hesse, Holstein and Luxemburg had three each; Brunswick, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Nassau two each; and the other states one a piece, making a total of sixty-nine. In the ordinary assembly (Engere Versammlung), where measures were arranged for discussion in the Plenum, there were seventeen delegates, each of the eleven largest states having one and the other six being divided up between the smaller states.

The object of the confederation was ‘to guarantee the external and internal peace of Germany, and the independence and inviolability of the confederate states.’ Not only Germany as a whole, but each individual state was to be defended in case of attack, except that the non-German possessions of Austria and Prussia were excluded. The confederates, as a necessary corollary, bound themselves not to make war on each other, but to submit their differences to a court of arbitration (Austrägalordnung). The

first business of the diet was to arrange the fundamental laws of the union, to fix organic institutions for its internal and military organisation, and to regulate the trade relations between the states. The weakness of the diet was manifested in the very early days of its sittings. First of all the president ruled that the Federal Act itself could not be altered—'the act was like the Bible; they might expound it, but they could not change it; it was fundamental law.' Secondly, the act itself declared that in all questions of 'fundamental law, organic institutions, individual right, or religious affairs,' a majority should not suffice; in a word, there must be unanimity; it was the case of the 'liberum veto' as in the old Polish constitution. Events soon proved that Görres' description of the diet was true—'a central power which does not rule, but is ruled by its separate parts; an executive wholly destitute of authority, which cannot provide against the refractory, and is not in a condition to execute anything whatever because it can never obtain the requisite unanimity; a legislature which will never investigate its own competence; a judiciary which no one is bound to obey; an assembly which ever seeks but never finds authority for its acts in an interminable weaving of diplomacy.'

The main cause, in fact, of the failure of the diet lay in 'particularism'; that is, in the desire of each state to retain its sovereign power uncontrolled. We find this clearly exemplified when, after the outbreak of revolutionary agitation at Weimar at the Wartburg festival (October 1817), and the assassination of the poet Kotzebue (March 1819), Metternich had no difficulty in getting the diet to accept and put into operation the famous Carlsbad decrees, whereby the press and the universities were muzzled. Practically every sovereign in Germany preferred absolute to constitutional rule. They looked with apprehension on the growing spirit of democracy which was appearing in



the universities, where the Burschenschaften, or students' organisations, were full of revolutionary enthusiasm; and in the towns, where the workmen were showing signs of discontent. They accordingly gladly told their representatives at the diet to accept and to put into operation the new repressive measures, and they made up in individual zeal for the defects of the Federal Court.

As the years went on Metternich, who saw that the stability of Austria could only be assured by the maintenance of absolutism, became more and more the controller of European politics. His domination reached its head when, in 1832, the Treaty of Berlin was signed by Russia, Austria and Prussia, whereby these powers recognised 'the right of any independent sovereign to summon to his assistance, whether in the internal or external difficulties of his country, any other independent sovereign whom he shall decree best able to assist him, and the right of the latter to grant or refuse such assistance according to his interest or resources.'

Prussia during this period was governed by the well-intentioned but weak-spirited Frederic William III., who oscillated between the desire to keep his word and grant his subjects a constitution, and his terror at each manifestation of revolutionary spirit in Europe. Completely under the domination of Metternich, he gradually withdrew all the liberal concessions he had granted, with the result that, as the Russian minister wrote, 'Since Prussia has ceased to be the *point d'appui* on which the balance of German liberties rest, and since this has been transferred to the states of the second order (Baden, Würtemberg and Bavaria), Austria's supremacy has become a realised fact.' But although, during this period, Prussia lost her political lead, she was unconsciously building up the foundations on which the future union of Germany was to be erected.

Since the diet was unable to arrange for the internal

commerce of Germany, Prussia was forced to enter on a system of separate arrangements with the other German states. By the Treaty of Vienna she had been granted the old ecclesiastical states on the Rhine. Owing to this addition to her already extended territories, and because of the intervention of other states between her various provinces, it was impossible for her custom-house officers to guard her long and broken frontiers. Consequently, to weld together the various provinces of which her monarchy was composed, and also on account of the smuggling which she was unable to prevent, some form of free trade within her dominions was absolutely necessary. The Finance Minister, Von Maassen, accordingly drew up a tariff so low that smuggling was unprofitable. But while trade within the limits of Prussia was free, heavy transit duties were imposed on all goods passing through Prussian territory. Von Maassen foresaw that, since Prussia commanded the main trade routes of central Germany, this scheme would force the smaller states to attach themselves to the Prussian customs system. At first there was a great outcry from the small Thuringian states, which were entirely surrounded by Prussian territory. But as the diet was unable to interfere, one by one these little states were glad to accept the generous terms offered by Prussia. Hence arose the famous Prussian Zollverein, the nucleus of which was formed, on October 25th, 1819, when Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen signed a tariff convention with Prussia.

A month after Napoleon had escaped from Elba, on April 1st, 1815, Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck was born at Schönhausen, in the Mark of Brandenburg. His father belonged to a family which for centuries had held its head high among the sturdy nobility by whose swords the house of Hohenzollern had fought its way to the kingship of Prussia. His grandfather, 'a fine fellow' (*ein ganzer Kerl*), had fallen at Chotusitz under Frederic

the Great. Otto's father had retired at an early age from the army, and settled down to the life of a country gentleman. But he had taken one step which differentiated him from his friends and relatives, for instead of seeking his bride among the landowners of his own rank, he married a Fräulein Mencken, a daughter of a Professor of Leipzig University, who had risen to be a Cabinet Secretary under Frederic William II. and Frederic William III. Thus through his parents Bismarck was connected with the two foundations on which the state of Prussia had been built—the fighting nobility and the scholarly officials.

A year after Otto's birth the Bismarcks removed from Schönhausen to Pomerania, where they settled on their estates at Kniephof and Kulz, among the Pomeranian nobility, who had never been further away from their homes than Berlin, save on the occasion when they had ridden into Paris as conquerors, in 1814 and 1815. The young Otto was accordingly brought up amid a society whose two occupations were farming and hunting, which retained the simple faith of German Protestantism, untouched by the rationalism of the eighteenth century or the liberalism of the nineteenth. The nobles of Pomerania regarded the king as chief bishop of the Church, criticism of or opposition to whom was as sacrilege. They considered the words 'by the grace of God' in the royal title as no mere empty phrase. To these simple folk and their peasant retainers Society still presented its patriarchal form. At the head Herr Gott in heaven; at Berlin the allergnädigster Herr, the king; at home the gnädiger Herr, the noble; and lastly the peasant, his very humble servant.

At the age of six the young Otto was sent to school at Berlin, where he speedily developed that dislike for cities which clung to him all his life. After going through the Gymnasium, where he received a sound classical education, at the age of seventeen he passed the Abiturienten examina-

tion, which admitted him to the university, and entitled him to serve for one year instead of three in the army. A year later he entered the University of Göttingen in Hanover, where he soon became famous for his capacity for drinking beer and for fighting. Report says that he engaged in no less than twenty-six students' duels, only once being wounded. After a year at Göttingen, he entered the university at Berlin with a reputation for great physical strength, for fearless riding, for proficiency in swimming and running, and for being a frank, cheerful, agreeable companion. His retentive memory and quick understanding had enabled him to acquire a considerable knowledge of language, law, literature and history, but the Hegelian philosophy of the day had no attraction for his mind. In a word he cared more for principles of belief and the conduct of life than for the analysis of intellect: his tastes were those of a man of the world, not of a student. The university records state that 'Studiosus von Bismarck' left Göttingen for Berlin with a sentence of seven days' imprisonment to be worked off at his new university—four days for having taken part in an 'illegal organisation,' three days for being present at a duel.

At Berlin he shared a room with the American Motley, the future author of *The Dutch Republic*, with whom he maintained a life-long friendship. He left the university, after taking the degree of Doctor of Laws, in 1835, with the intention of entering the diplomatic service. After a year spent as auscultator, or official reporter, to one of the Berlin tribunals, at his own request he was transferred to the administrative side at Aix-la-Chapelle. About this time the Prince of Prussia, the future Emperor William, met him for the first time at a court ball, and, remarking on his magnificent stature and physique, exclaimed, 'Justice seems to cull her young recruits according to the standard of the Guards.'

At Aix-la-Chapelle Bismarck threw himself into the cosmopolitan society that gathered there, and during the intervals of his work made excursions to Belgium and the Rhine, with occasional hunting expeditions to the Ardennes. In June 1837, he was granted leave of absence on the score of ill health, and, after a tour in Switzerland, applied to be transferred to the Crown Office at Potsdam. In 1838, he did his year's military service with the Jäger or Rifle Corps of the Guards. On January 1st, 1839, his mother died, and his father decided to return to Schönhausen, and entrust the management of his Pomeranian estates to his two sons. When Bismarck and his brother took over these estates they found them in a bad way. But the brothers proved excellent men of business, and soon put them on a sound footing. During the eight years Bismarck spent 'out in the wilderness' he pursued a country life, varying farming with hunting, studying, soldiering, and acting as local deputy and magistrate; maintaining his college reputation as a hard drinker, for he mixed champagne and beer, and finding time occasionally for foreign travel: he was generally regarded by his neighbours as 'the mad Bismarck.' On one occasion during these years he visited England, dining with Prince Albert's Hussars at York, inspecting the cotton manufactories at Manchester, and returning via Portsmouth and Hull. He seems to have been very favourably impressed with England, for he wrote to his father, 'In general I cannot sufficiently praise the extraordinary politeness and complaisance of the English, which far exceed my expectations. Even people of the lowest rank are polite, very modest, and sociable if one speaks to them.'

But Bismarck felt that he was being wasted in the country, and gradually wearied of a life in which the monotony was, as he comically expressed it, only broken by 'night frosts, sick oxen, bad rape and worse roads,



dead lambs, half-starved sheep, scant straw, fodder, money, potatoes and manure.' Still, he stuck to it, as the only alternative seemed to be the position of Landsrath or administrative chief of a Kreis or circle. In spite of everything, he really loved a country life; while the society of the Pomeranian squires was not to be despised when there were among them men like the Bülows, the Blankenburgs, Kleist, the future leader of the conservative party, and Albrecht von Roon, the future war minister of Prussia. So with Shakespeare readings, religious speculation with Thadden, and the correspondence necessary as inspector of the dykes on the Elbe for the district of Jerichow, his time was fully occupied. Indeed, the life seemed to be ideal when, in 1847, he won the hand of Johanna von Puttkammer, the daughter of a Pomeranian squire settled in the Harz Mountains.

But six months before his marriage Bismarck left his country life not to return to it for the next forty years. In 1840, the old king had died and been succeeded by his son, Frederic William IV., a man of great learning and noble aspirations, but without sympathy for liberal ideas. Frederic William III., as we have seen, after swearing to give his people a constitution, had never kept his promise, and had managed to govern without consulting the nation. But modern conditions were making this procedure almost impossible, and, in 1847, the necessity of raising a loan to build railways compelled the new king to summon a representative assembly. Frederic William's idea was to call together the eight provincial diets to a central assembly, which, however, should only have the right of consulting and petitioning. He absolutely refused to entertain the idea of a constitution, swearing that he would never allow 'a sheet of paper to intervene between the Lord God in heaven and his subjects.'

Bismarck, now in his thirty-second year, attended the

assembly as substitute for the deputy of Jerichow, who was ill. Heartily in agreement with the crown, indignant with the Liberals, who claimed that the people had earned a constitution by the part they had played in the War of Liberation, he protested against the attempted parallels drawn between England and Prussia. He boasted that he clung to the doctrine which he said he had imbibed with his mother's milk, that the crown of Prussia was absolute, 'not by the favour of the people but by the grace of God.' He argued bitterly against the emancipation of the Jews. The Christian state, he maintained, 'is as old as any European state; it is the ground in which they have taken root; no state has a sure existence unless it has a religious foundation. For some the words "by the grace of God" . . . is no empty phrase: I see in them a confession that the princes desire to wield the sceptre which God has given them according to the will of God on earth. . . . If we withdraw this foundation, we retain in the state nothing but an accidental aggregate of rights, a kind of bulwark against the war of all against all, which ancient philosophy has assumed.'

Bismarck returned from the assembly to Pomerania for his marriage a marked man, 'the rising hope of the stern, unbending Tories.' On his wedding tour at Venice he met the future king of Prussia, with whom he was soon to be so closely associated. In February 1848, the Revolution broke out in France, and within a fortnight the thrones of nearly every monarchy in Europe began to totter. Moving eastward from France, the disorder appeared in south Germany and spread to Austria. The Revolution in Vienna was the signal for Berlin. On March 15th, the people rose, demanding a constitution. The king surrendered to the mob, and the troops evacuated the city. The Liberals were delighted; the press was now free; they had liberty; soon they would have a constitution. Mean-

while, the Liberal leaders of Germany were summoning a German Constituent Assembly, with the intention of offering the German crown to the king of Prussia.

Bismarck at once wrote the king a letter, full of ardent loyalty and affection, which for months the unhappy monarch kept open by him on his writing-table. Then he hurried to Berlin, ready, if necessary, to defend his sovereign with his sword, but grieved beyond words by the king's surrender—'Prussia was to be dissolved in Germany.' Finding there was no chance of fighting, he set to work to organise a Conservative party, and helped to found the *Kreuzzeitung* as its organ. Bowing to the king's desire he allowed himself to be elected for the first parliament under the new constitution, and alone with von Thadden, in spite of the terrorism of the mob, voted against the address to the throne.

When the assembly at Frankfort elaborated a National Constitution, Bismarck scoffed at it as 'A transcript of Magna Charta on continental blotting-paper.' He was delighted when, in April 1849, Frederic William refused to accept the dignity of 'Emperor of the Germans,' describing the Imperial crown as 'the iron fetter by which the descendant of four-and-twenty sovereigns, the ruler of sixteen million subjects and the lord of the loyalest and bravest army in the world, would be made the mere serf of the Revolution.' But Bismarck's policy was not that of a mere reactionary; as he wrote in a friend's album, 'Our watchword must not be a federal state at any price, but the integrity of the Prussian crown at any price.' His reason for opposing parliamentary government was at the moment sound. He wrote, 'What with us is lacking is the whole class which in England carries on politics, the class of gentlemen who are well-to-do and therefore Conservative, who are independent of material interests, and whose whole education is directed towards making them

English statesmen, and the object of their life is to take part in the Commonwealth of England.' For in Germany at that time the politicians were either university professors or trained bureaucrats.

But though Frederic William refused the throne of Germany from the revolutionary parliament, he really hankered after the position, and proceeded to make a league with the kings of Hanover and Saxony to form a new Germanic confederation of which he was to be king. To prepare the way for this design, in 1849, Prussian troops stamped out the Revolution in Dresden, Baden and elsewhere. By the end of the year twenty-eight states had joined the new union. But, early in 1850, Austria, having conquered her rebellious Hungarian subjects, could once again turn her attention to Germany. By no means pleased at seeing the new expansion of Prussian power, she summoned the old Bundestag, and awaited the first opportunity of slighting Prussia. The occasion soon arose. The elector of Hesse Cassel, trusting to Austrian promises, overthrew his new constitution, and appealed for aid to the diet. As Hesse Cassel was a member of the new union, Prussian troops were sent thither. War with Austria seemed inevitable, but Prussia was not ready for war; the Czar was hostile—'Austria had placed herself on the ground of the treaties, while Prussia was on the side of the Revolution.' The new Conservative party led by Bismarck and the Gerlachs preached peace with Austria and the abandonment of the Revolution. In the face of this opposition the king had to give way, and after a conference at Olmütz (November 1850) the union was given up, and the old confederation with its Bundestag re-established.

Bismarck was opposed to war, because in his opinion the union would be a cause of weakness instead of strength to Prussia. 'Show us, gentlemen,' he said in parliament, 'an object worthy of war, and you have my vote.' The

result of his action was that he was considered to be a man who would be congenial to Austria, and, in 1851, was sent to Frankfort as Prussian minister to the Bundestag. His friends now were convinced that he would go far, and Motley wrote of him a year or two later, 'Strict integrity and courage of character, a high sense of honour, a firm religious belief, united with remarkable talents, make up necessarily a combination which cannot be found any day at court; and I have no doubt that he is destined to be Prime Minister, unless his obstinate truthfulness, which is apt to be a stumbling-block for politicians, stands in his way.'

At Frankfort Bismarck soon found that the whole trend of Austrian policy was to utilise the Germanic confederation for the exaltation of Austria and the abasement of Prussia. 'Cautious dishonesty,' he wrote, 'is the characteristic of their association with us. They have nothing which awakens confidence. They intrigue under the mask of good fellowship.' By the constitution the Austrian minister was perpetual president of the Bundestag. Bismarck soon showed that he was not to be overawed by Austrian superciliousness. He thus describes the method he pursued. 'In the sittings of the military commission, when Rochow was Prussian envoy, Austria alone smoked. Rochow, who was a passionate smoker, would also have gladly done so, but did not venture. When I came I did not see any reason against it, and asked for a light from the presiding state; this seemed to be noticed with astonishment and displeasure by him and the other gentlemen; it was obviously an event for them.' On another occasion Thun, the Austrian minister, received him in his shirt sleeves. 'You are quite right,' said Bismarck; 'it is very hot,' and took off his coat also.

The first important business Bismarck had to deal with was the claim of Austria to be admitted to the Zollverein.



Austria recognised the importance Prussia gained by being head of the Customs Union, and she thought to counteract this by demanding to be allowed to join it on her own terms. Bismarck was sent to Vienna to supervise the negotiations ; and there, as he said, ' I did all I could to render the relations between the two Cabinets as friendly as possible —without yielding anything in the matter of the Zollverein.' Austria was furious at this rebuff, and Bismarck pointed out to King Frederic William the necessity of seeking an ally to strengthen his position. At the moment Russia seemed the most suitable, for, as he wrote, ' Russia is to be had on the cheapest terms ; it only wishes to grow in the East : the other two (England and France) at our expense.' Thanks to his influence, in spite of the fact that the king could not make up his mind, and, as Bismarck said, ' goes to bed an Englishman and wakes up a Russian,' Prussia remained neutral during the Crimean War.

In the autumn of 1857, Frederic William's health broke down, and his brother, ' The Cartridge Prince of 1848,' the future Emperor William, became regent. He summoned the Prince of Hohenzollern to form a ministry of moderate Liberals. One of the first acts of the Hohenzollern ministry was to recall Bismarck from Frankfort. The Prince Regent's ministers desired to disconnect themselves from the party hostile to Austria, while Bismarck's policy was to seize the occasion of the strained relations between France and Austria, over the question of Italy, to strengthen the position of Prussia in Germany. To keep Bismarck out of the way the government sent him as ambassador to St. Petersburg. There, during 1859, he watched with concern the vacillating attitude of Prussia. While on a winter journey between Berlin and St. Petersburg he was attacked by inflammation of the lungs and rheumatic fever. This illness formed an epoch in his life, for he lost the powers of youth, and ever afterwards suffered from a

nervous restlessness, and from this date became more irritable and exacting. Listless after his severe illness, and feeling himself removed from the busy world, he began to think that his career was finished. 'I am quite contented with my existence here,' he wrote; 'I seek for no change in my position until it be God's will. I settle down quietly in Schönhausen or Reinfeld, and can leisurely set about making my coffin.'

But events were happening at Berlin which soon summoned him again to active duty. Von Roon, his old friend, now Minister of War, had seen with disgust the weakness and disorder of the Prussian army, when it was necessary to mobilise it during the Italian campaign, in case the victorious French might advance into Germany. Backed by the Prince Regent he had set to work to strengthen and reorganise the army. But when his proposals—(1) to increase the number of recruits to be raised each year; (2) to lengthen the term of service with the colours; and (3) to improve the Landwehr or militia—were laid before the Lower House, they were rejected. A struggle at once ensued between William (who in 1861 became king) and the parliament. The deadlock continued through 1860, and Roon saw that if his policy was to succeed there must be a man of iron at the head of the ministry. At the end of June 1861, he wired to St. Petersburg asking Bismarck to hurry to Berlin. There were great expectations in Berlin that 'we shall have a Bismarck ministry, and that will be a *coup d'état*.' But the king was not yet ready to give his confidence to Bismarck. The following year, after the new elections, the Liberals returned stronger than ever. Bismarck was again recalled to Berlin, but did not feel able to undertake the responsibility at the moment, as he saw that the king was not yet ready to give him his whole confidence. Bismarck desired the crisis to become more acute, so that he might be felt to be indispensable.

Instead, however, of being sent back to Russia he was despatched to Paris on the understanding that, if no *modus vivendi* was discovered, he would be recalled to take the position of Foreign Minister. During the few weeks which he spent in France he found time for a visit to England, and had the opportunity of a long conversation with Disraeli, the leader of the opposition. He told him, 'I shall soon be compelled to undertake the leadership of the Prussian government. My first care will be, with or without the help of parliament, to organise the army. . . . When the army has been brought to such a state as to command respect, then I will take the first opportunity to declare war with Austria, burst asunder the German confederation, bring the middle and lower states into subjection, and give Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia.'

In the middle of September, the Lower House refused to pass the Budget, and von Roon wired to Bismarck to return at once to Berlin from Biarritz, where he was in attendance on Napoleon, enjoying the sea-bathing. He thus describes the situation: 'When I arrived in Berlin, in September 1862, summoned by his Majesty from Paris, his abdication lay already signed on his writing-table. I refused to take office. The document was ready to be handed to the crown prince. He asked me whether I was prepared to govern against the majority of the national representatives without a Budget. I answered "Yes," and the letter of abdication was destroyed.' But the situation was one of overwhelming difficulty. The new minister was soon the best-hated man in Berlin, and the king on occasions lost his nerve. One day he said to Bismarck, 'I can see far enough from this palace window to see your head fall on the scaffold and after yours mine.' 'Well,' Bismarck replied, 'for myself I cannot imagine a nobler death than that or on the battlefield. I shall fall

like Strafford and your Majesty like Charles I., not like Louis XVI. Surely your Majesty,' he added, pointing to the Prussian officer's sword which he wore, 'as captain of a company, cannot think of deserting it under fire?' 'Never,' was the reply. Bismarck, by appealing to his sovereign's soldierly instincts, had won.

Bismarck's first business was to muzzle his enemies to prevent their doing mischief, and then to turn his attention to foreign policy; for he perceived that he could only conquer his enemies at home by a successful foreign policy. His plan was relentless. All important military and administrative posts were given to Conservatives; Liberal officials were either pensioned or degraded; Liberal judges were passed over for promotion; and the press was held in check by confiscations and lawsuits. He had no fear of a revolution, for the army was on his side; and although the Conservative party had only eleven votes in the Lower House, he coolly faced the enormous Liberal majority, because he knew that it was merely composed of the self-interested middle-class, and that the mass of the country cared nothing about the constitutional struggle. At home as well as abroad he understood the use of 'blood and iron.'

In foreign politics he pursued his former scheme of alliance with Russia, and, in 1863, he mobilised the Prussian army to prevent the Prussian Poles aiding their brethren in the struggle with Russia. This brought to a close any danger of a Russian-French alliance, and prepared the way for Russia's benevolent attitude during the wars with Austria and France. Meanwhile, Austria, seeing the growing reactionary tendency of the policy of Prussia, was making a bid for the support of the Liberal party in Germany. In August 1863, she proposed to summon a congress of the German princes, with a view of laying before them a scheme for the reform of the Federal Constitution. The idea was that there should be a supreme Directory with an assembly

of delegates from the parliaments of the various states, a federal court of appeal, and periodical conferences of sovereigns. Bismarck, after a severe struggle, at last got the king to consent to the following declaration: 'In any reform of the confederation, Prussia equally with Austria must have the right of vetoing war; she must be admitted, in the matter of the presidency, to an equal right with Austria; and, finally, she will yield no tittle of her rights save to a parliament representing the whole German nation.'

Scarcely had Austria received this slap in the face, when a crisis arose which had long been imminent. The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein were to all intents German. Holstein was part of the old empire, although for centuries the king of Denmark had been its duke; Schleswig, on the other hand, was really a fief of the Danish crown, but had been colonised from Holstein and bound to it by custom. As early as 1830, the Danes, desiring to consolidate their kingdom, had overridden the rights of the old local estates of the duchies. But when, in 1848, they attempted to incorporate the duchies in the kingdom there had been a rebellion. The matter had been at last settled by a conference in London, and Denmark had granted the duchies Home Rule under the Danish crown.

But, in 1863, in spite of the recent Treaty of London (1852), the Danes determined to annex Schleswig to Denmark. Bismarck had, however, determined in his own mind that Holstein with her harbour of Kiel should be Prussian. By cleverly inducing Austria to join with Prussia in a demand, that the confederation should occupy Schleswig as a pledge 'for the observance by Denmark of the compact of 1852,' he contrived to give Austria and Prussia a free hand, to act independently of the diet, as European powers. Early in 1864, the Prussian and Austrian forces drove the Danes from both provinces. Bismarck's next step was to prevent the Duke of Augusten-



burg, the German claimant of the duchy of Holstein, from making good his pretensions. This was difficult, because both the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia favoured the Augustenburger's claims. When, in October, Denmark made peace it was decided that, for the time being, Austria should administer Schleswig and Prussia Holstein. Bismarck's next step was to overcome King William's conscientious objection by obtaining an opinion from a body of Prussian lawyers that the claims of the Augustenburg candidate had no ground, and at the same time to persuade the Czar to put forward the claim of the house of Oldenburg to which he belonged.

Meanwhile, the whole feeling of Germany was against Prussia, and Bismarck was still faced by the constitutional deadlock at home. Still, Austria, with her treasury empty, her army unprepared for mobilisation, and conscious that the Italians were awaiting an opportunity to seize Venetia, was unable to take the opportunity of declaring war. Accordingly, she consented to a temporary settlement at Gastein, in August 1865, whereby she continued to administer Schleswig and Prussia administered Holstein. But Austria found that, by the Convention of Gastein, she had thrown away her influence with the small German states, who continued to agitate on behalf of Augustenburg. Italy gave her an opportunity of finding an ally by offering to purchase Venetia, but Francis Joseph would not hear of ceding his Italian province. Bismarck, however, seized the occasion of the irritation of the smaller states with Austria, to contract a commercial treaty between the Zollverein and Italy, and to recognise the Italian kingdom. Austria thereon once again took up the part of Augustenburg and intermeddled with Holstein. War was now inevitable, and, on April 8th, 1866, Bismarck concluded an alliance with Italy, whereby if within three months Prussia had cause to declare war with Austria, Italy should

also declare war ; if the war was successful, Venetia was to be ceded to Italy, and an equivalent portion of territory assigned to Prussia in northern Germany. Austria, finding that Italy was active, began to mobilise, and Prussia at once followed her example. The final breach between the two countries did not take place till each party had laid their accusations against the other before the Federal Diet. The diet by nine votes to six declared on behalf of Austria. Thereon the Prussian delegate was at once withdrawn from Frankfort.

Thanks to the organisation work of Roon, and the careful plans of Moltke, the Prussians were successful : the armies of the confederation were beaten, and the Austrians crushed at Königgrätz (Sadowa), within six weeks of the declaration of war. But Bismarck, who accompanied the king on the campaign, brought the war to an abrupt end, for he knew that Napoleon was ready to interfere if he got the slightest chance. Accordingly, he persuaded the king to give up his idea of entering Vienna in triumph. Once Prussia had proved her predominance he was anxious to turn Austria into a friend, or at least to ensure that she should be neutral in the great struggle he foresaw with France. By the Peace of Prague (August 22nd, 1866) the war was concluded. Austria ceded Venetia to Italy, but lost no other territory, for Bismarck sought Prussia's indemnity from the smaller German states by absorbing Hanover, Electoral Hesse, a portion of Hesse Darmstadt, and the free city of Frankfort. All the country north of the Main was formed into a North German Confederation, of which the king of Prussia was president ; while the south German states were to be allowed to form a confederation, from which Austria was excluded. By his moderation, and by leaving the south German states alone, Bismarck completely soothed Napoleon's irritation at Prussia's success ; but he secretly made a treaty with the south German

states that, in the event of war with France, their armies should be placed at the disposal of the king of Prussia.

The result of this successful war was that, from being the most unpopular man in Prussia, Bismarck became the most popular. The constitutional deadlock was dissolved, and Bismarck in the hour of his triumph conciliated the deputies by asking for an Act of Indemnity. As Minister of Prussia and Chancellor of the new Confederation of the North, his time was fully occupied at home in establishing the new order of things. But he had constantly to watch foreign politics, for Napoleon thought that he ought to have some indemnity for allowing Prussia to conquer Austria. Bismarck before the war had certainly hinted to the emperor that this might be permissible; but he did not intend to cede a foot of German soil, and, as early as 1866, when pressed by the French ambassador under threat of war to cede Maintz, he coolly replied, 'Why, then, have war.' Napoleon therefore first tried to arrange that part of Belgium should be given to France; but, finding that this would be opposed by England, he suggested Luxemburg; but Bismarck again foiled him. Meanwhile, the emperor found that the south German states were entering the north German Zollverein, and on his protesting Bismarck published the secret military treaties. Soon some of the south German states, notably Baden, wanted to join the North German Confederation. But Bismarck had no intention of putting himself in the wrong before he was ready to fight, or of undertaking more than he could perform. Still he knew well that war was inevitable; for Napoleon, after his failure in Mexico, and the ill success of his European diplomacy, was bound to do something to appease the mob of Paris.

Events moved quickly. After Isabella had been deposed from the throne of Spain, in 1869, General Prim, the Spanish dictator, after approaching various other semi-royal

personages, fixed on Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as the candidate for the Spanish crown. Bismarck secretly gave all the assistance in his power to the Spanish emissaries, because he thought that with a German prince on the Spanish throne France could not take the offensive in Germany. But openly he declared that it was a family question which must be settled between the king of Prussia and the Prince of Sigmaringen. He was secretly very disgusted when, at the end of 1869, owing to the advice of King William, the offer was rejected. But negotiations were again opened, and, thanks to his influence, on June 25th, 1870 King William withdrew his opposition, and, on July 4th, the crown was officially offered to Prince Leopold, subject to the approval of the Cortes. Then, because of the outcry in France, and the protests from Austria, on July 12th, Leopold withdrew his candidature. French diplomacy had triumphed. Unfortunately, however, the war-party in France desired to humiliate Prussia; and Count Benedetti, the French ambassador, was instructed to demand from King William a pledge that Prince Leopold's candidature should never be renewed in the future.

On the news of the crisis Bismarck had hurried to Berlin from his estate of Varzin, with the intention of joining the king at Ems. But on Prince Leopold's withdrawal he remained at Berlin. He was dining with Roon and Moltke, on the evening of July 13th, very depressed at the want of success of his policy and the apparent French triumph, when a long rather ambiguous telegram arrived from the king describing Benedetti's demands, his own refusal to give guarantees for the future, and his desire that the subject should be considered closed. The telegram ended by authorising Bismarck to publish it if he thought fit. Bismarck saw his opportunity: hurriedly putting a blue pencil through those parts of the message which showed indecision, he re-read it to Roon and Moltke. 'That's

better,' said Roon. Moltke added, ' At first it sounded like a chamade (retreat), and now it is a fanfare.' Bismarck then explained that if sent off at once to the ambassadors it would be published in Paris by midnight, but he pointed out that it meant war ; because, as the telegram now stood, it read as if the king had insulted the ambassador ; so he once again asked Moltke if he was ready. ' I believe,' said Moltke, ' we shall prove superior to them, always of course with the reservation that no one can foresee the issue of a great pitched battle.'

Two days later France declared war on Prussia. Bismarck, to show Europe the drift of French diplomacy, published the draft which Napoleon had sent him of the proposed partition of Belgium. During the campaign he accompanied the king, and took with him part of the chancellery, keeping in his hands, when in the field, the whole of the diplomacy of Prussia and the North German Confederation. The result of the great Prussian successes which ended at Sedan was the surrender of the French army and of Napoleon. Bismarck would not allow the emperor to see King William until all details were settled, for he knew the kind-heartedness of his sovereign. The terms of the surrender were arranged in a small one-windowed room in a weaver's cottage near Donchery. There the fallen emperor met his terrible adversary. ' A wonderful contrast to our last meeting in the Tuileries,' wrote Bismarck to his wife. ' Our conversation was difficult, if I was to avoid matters which would be painful to the man who had been struck down by the right hand of God.'

Even before his arrival at his temporary residence at Versailles, Bismarck was continually engaged with the various negotiations for peace, set on foot by Bonapartists, Royalists and Republicans. He was ready to recognise any government as long as it was capable of concluding a peace which should be binding on France. When



asked by an emissary of Gambetta if he would recognise the republic, he replied, 'Without doubt or hesitation, not merely the republic, but, if you like it, a Gambetta dynasty, only that dynasty must give us a secure and advantageous peace.' He told all negotiators that France must surrender Alsace and Lorraine. Meanwhile, his agents were sounding the courts of all the south German states on the question of joining the North German Confederation. Baden gladly acquiesced, and all the others more or less enthusiastically, except Bavaria. Bavaria had to be very gently handled, for Bismarck would not hear of anything like compulsion, not only because of the excellent service which the Bavarian troops had rendered during the war, but in case she might be driven into the arms of Austria. Ultimately the negotiations succeeded, and after some quibbling as to whether the title should be German Emperor or Emperor of Germany, King William was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles, on January 18th, 1870, the anniversary of the day on which the first king of Prussia had crowned himself at Königsberg, in 1701.

Six days later M. Favre arrived from Paris prepared to conclude an armistice—the French were to surrender the forts and lay down their arms; meanwhile, there was to be a suspension of hostilities everywhere, to allow of a parliament meeting at Bordeaux to accept the terms of peace. In spite of every effort made by Thiers, France had to surrender Alsace and Lorraine, and pay an indemnity of £250,000,000. When Thiers spoke of Europe intervening to save France, Bismarck merely replied to him, 'If you speak to me of Europe I will speak to you of Napoleon and the 100,000 bayonets which, at a wire from us, would reseat him on his throne.'

Bismarck's policy was to cripple France so that she might no longer be a danger to Germany, but he had no desire to see her wiped off the face of Europe. 'It is not

our policy,' he declared in the Reichstag, 'to injure our neighbour more than is absolutely necessary to secure for us the execution of the treaty of peace; but on the contrary to help and enable her, as far as we can do so without detriment to our interests, to recover from the disaster that has befallen her country.' Acting on this policy, during the years which followed the war, he refused to lend his support to the war-party led by Moltke, who, in 1876, wanted to crush the growing strength of the republic. In fact, to use his own words, Bismarck, having gained his object in placing Prussia at the head of a united Germany, had become a *Friedensfanatiker* (fanatic for peace). 'Germany,' he declared, 'devoted to her own domestic task would pursue a policy of strict non-intervention abroad.' It was with this in view that he formed the league of the three empires (Germany, Austria and Russia) which dominated Europe from 1872 to 1878. But his action as the 'honest broker,' at the Berlin Conference of 1878, which settled the dispute in the Near East arising from the Russo-Turkish war, disgusted the Czar, who had hoped to find in him an ally, not an impartial arbitrator. Accordingly, in 1879, Bismarck formed a defensive treaty with Austria. This new combination was later joined by Italy, who was afraid of French aggression in Tunis. The result was the formation of the Triple Alliance in 1883, to which in 1891 the French and Russians replied by the Dual Alliance.

While successful in foreign politics Prince Bismarck (he was created *Fürst*, in 1871, as a reward for his services during the war) found it more difficult to control his domestic policy. In 1869, just before the fall of Rome, the doctrine of papal infallibility had been published. The Prussian government allowed the doctrine to be taught in the Catholic schools, but when the Archbishop of Cologne threatened to suspend all the professors at Bonn

unless they taught it, and the Bishop of Ermeland actually excommunicated a teacher at Braunsberg, Bismarck set himself the task 'of defining the position between Church and State.' At once the Ultramontanes were in arms, and Pio Nono showed his annoyance by refusing to receive a Prussian ambassador at the Vatican. Bismarck's attitude was firm. 'Have no fear,' he said, 'we shall not go to Canossa either in body or spirit.' His next step in this policy, known as the 'Kulturkampf,' was to expel the Jesuits from Germany, whereon the pope described him as a Protestant Philip II. Then followed the May Laws, which (1) forbade any one to be appointed to a cure of souls except a German educated and brought up in Prussian schools and universities; (2) made civil marriage compulsory; and (3) took away the inspection of schools from the priests.

Bismarck in this struggle maintained that the conflict was a political, not a religious one. 'The question at issue,' he said, 'is not a struggle of an evangelical dynasty against the Catholic Church: it is the old struggle . . . a struggle for power as old as the human race . . . between king and priest.' But the great chancellor had met his match: he found he was unable to coerce the Catholic people, who soon were represented by a hundred deputies in the Reichstag. Meanwhile, his financial policy not having been successful, in 1877 he suddenly resigned and retired to Varzin.

Ten months later, he returned to office restored to health and ready to face the labours of the Berlin Conference, and to renew the battle against Socialism, which had reached a crisis with Nobiling's attempt on the life of the emperor. At first he tried the same methods of force which he had unsuccessfully applied against the Ultramontanes. Laws were passed to enable the government to prevent the printing of writings which supported the

aims of the social democrats, and power was given to declare towns in a state of siege. But the attempt to put a large party in the state under permanent police control broke down. Bismarck thereon suddenly made a 'volte-face.' He had already reversed his Kulturkampf policy, and after effecting a conciliation with the pope was leaning for his support in the struggle against Socialism on the Conservative and Catholic vote. Now, though over sixty years old, he determined to cut the ground under the feet of the Socialists, by advancing government measures for the insurance of workmen against unemployment and ill-health, and for the provision of old-age pensions. This involved of necessity the reorganisation of the whole of the financial system of the empire. It meant as regarded foreign commerce a break with free trade and a reversion to a protective system. Bismarck's first aim was to get rid of direct taxation. 'I ascribe a large part of our emigration to the fact that the emigrant wishes to escape the direct pressure of taxes and exactions, and to go to a land where the class-distinction does not exist, and where he will also have the pleasure of knowing that the produce of his labours will be protected against foreign interference.'

His first idea was, by making the sale of tobacco, brandy and beer government monopolies, to find enough money to finance the insurance and old-age pension schemes, without asking the workman for any contribution. Here he was met by so strong an opposition that he had to give way; but, for the remaining ten years of his official life, he worked at the introduction of protection and at perfecting his schemes for social reform. Concurrently with his economic policy he began to look around for other means of preventing the great loss that Germany suffered owing to emigration. With this in view he entered on a colonial policy, which resulted, after some friction with England, in the establishment of the German colonies of Togoland

and the Cameroons in West Africa, and of German East Africa on the mainland opposite Zanzibar.

On March 9th, 1888, the old Emperor William I. died, and three months later his son, the Emperor Frederic, followed him to the grave. The new emperor, William II., begged Bismarck to remain at his post of chancellor. But soon friction arose between the mighty subject and the impulsive, strong-willed young monarch. Bismarck had for far too long ruled Prussia and Germany to play second fiddle even to the emperor. There was a grave division of opinion between them, as to the Socialist Laws and the responsibility of ministers. The climax arose when the young emperor forbade the chancellor to receive ministers of the Reichstag without his permission. 'Please tell his Majesty,' said Bismarck to the official whom the emperor had sent to inform him of this command, 'that I allow no one to have any control over my threshold.' Next day the emperor came personally to enforce his demand, asking him if he would not obey 'not even when I command you as sovereign.' To this the old autocrat replied, 'My master's authority ends at my wife's drawing-room.' Thereon the emperor demanded his resignation. The next day the news was in the papers that the emperor had accepted the chancellor's resignation, and a gazette appeared in which Prince Bismarck was appointed Colonel-General of Cavalry with the rank of Field-marshal, and the title of Duke of Lauenburg.

Bismarck retired to his residence at Friedrichsruh, near Hamburg, which he had purchased with part of the grant given him after the Franco-Prussian war. From there he waged a bitter war against the emperor, not hesitating to impart state secrets to the newspapers, and resolutely criticising every action of the new government. He was universally popular, and public sympathy was showered upon him; indeed, when he officially left Berlin (March 29th,



1890) after his resignation the demonstration was so great that, as he grimly expressed it, he had been treated to 'a first-class funeral.' The quarrel between the sovereign and ex-chancellor became a public scandal, and at last the emperor determined to try to end it ; but for a long time Bismarck refused to listen to any overtures from his former master. In the end the emperor's little courtesies were accepted in the spirit in which they were offered, and on January 26th, 1894, Bismarck came to Berlin to offer his congratulations to the emperor on his thirty-fifth birthday. The veteran survived another four years, and it was not till July 30th, 1898, that 'the greatest political figure of the century' passed away at Friedrichsruh in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

That there would have been no German Empire without Bismarck it is impossible to affirm, but that the German Empire as it at present exists bears trace of his workmanship in every part of its political structure, no one will deny. One of the most striking features of his career is the mental ease with which he passed from one stage of political thought to another. In his early manhood we see him, the future founder of the German Empire, protesting against all schemes of German unity, illustrating the extreme particularism of the Conservative Prussian. Again we remember that he, who established the Reichstag on a system of universal suffrage, was in his early day the stern opponent of constitutional government, the rigid upholder of monarchical absolutism. Yet again we see him persecuting the Ultramontanes, only later to find in them his chief support against the Socialists. Yet no one will accuse Bismarck of pure opportunism.

The secret of his career which co-ordinates these seeming inconsistencies lies in his dictum, '*La patrie veut être servie et pas dominée.*' As he said to the French negotiators at Versailles, in 1871, 'One must modify his course of action

in accordance with events, with the situation of affairs, with the possibilities of the case, taking the relation of things into account and serving his country as opportunity offers, and not according to his own opinions, which are often prejudices.' He told them that when he first entered political life, as a young and inexperienced man, he held very different views and aims to those which he had at present. He had, however, altered and reconsidered his opinions, and had not hesitated to sacrifice his wishes, either partially or wholly, to the requirements of the day, in order to be of service. Hence it was that he governed Germany by a system of alliances: when one party would no longer work with him, as in diplomacy, he turned to another. As regards his own views of government he maintained, 'Really, after all, an intelligent absolutism is the best form of government. Without a certain amount of it everything falls asunder . . . a republic is, perhaps, after all the right form of government, and it will doubtless come in the future; but I dislike our republicans.'

The German Empire, as founded by Bismarck, blends in a wonderful degree the absolute and democratic form of government. The Reichstag is composed of members returned for equal electoral districts chosen by universal suffrage: here we see the true democratic spirit which demands such logical arrangement. Above it there is the Bundesrath (Federal Council), in which the ministers and councillors and the sovereigns are hereditary members, who, as Bismarck said, 'are the true guardians of German unity, not the Reichstag and its parties.' In England the Government rests in the House of Commons, but in Germany in the Federal Council, which wields both the executive and the legislative power. The Reichstag has to content itself with criticism, the amending or vetoing of bills, and the power to refuse its assent to new taxes.

The whole power of the ministry was lodged in the hands of the chancellor. For Bismarck contended that a board cannot be responsible—'responsibility is only there when there is a single man who can be brought to task for any mistakes.' So for twenty years, as chancellor, he controlled the government, and, as we have seen, it was over the question of responsibility that he was at last forced to resign. His duties during this period were immense. 'He was sole minister to the president of the confederation (after 1870 to the emperor). The president (who was King of Prussia) could declare peace and war, sign treaties and appoint officials, but all his acts required the signature of the chancellor, who was truly Foreign Minister of the Confederation (or empire), and had the whole patronage. More than this, he was at the head of the whole internal administration: from time to time different departments of state were created—marine, post-office, finance—but the men who stood at the head of each department were not co-ordinate with the chancellor: they were not his colleagues but his subordinates, to whom he delegated work. They were not immediately responsible to the Imperial Council or Reichstag, but to him: he, whenever he wished it, could undertake the immediate control of each department; he could defend its actions, and was technically responsible to the council for any failure.' But not only was he the working head of the Imperial government—he held the same position for the kingdom of Prussia.

That he successfully performed the multitudinous tasks, which arose from his many offices, was due to two things. First of all his marvellous physique, which he ascribed to the healthy outdoor life of his younger days. To the last, hunting was his recreation: he hated town life and office work, though he so broke himself to it that it became a second nature. The second cause of his success was his

strength of character. Like Machiavelli he despised all 'those brain-spun fogs of fancy which are apt to obscure the path of practical politics.' Yet he had no Italian suppleness. The main trait in his character was a downrightness which was frankly brutal. At no crisis did he waver: his goal was always before him: never did he try to befool the issue, and his outspoken frankness more than anything else caused his success among diplomatists whom he scared by his downright straightforwardness. In diplomacy he could allow no part for mere sentiment. Sentiment he abhorred at all times, and during the siege of Paris nobody was a stronger supporter of the policy of bombardment and of the execution of *francstireurs*. His judgment told him that in war the greater injury you inflict on your enemy the sooner he will yield, and the less hardship you will inflict on your own soldiers.

Strongly self-confident, he seldom allowed his judgment to be clouded by his prejudices: he could calculate to a nicety the obstacles in his path and the means requisite to secure the end: his success was, more often than not, due to the fact that in solving a problem he usually had at least two strings to his bow. Bold and decisive as was his foreign policy, he was at the same time cautious and prudent: for he never left anything to fortune, and never forced on a war till he was sure to win. No one knew better when to be silent and when to speak, and he was a past master at influencing public opinion by means of the press. For though he really despised public opinion and was ready, as in the years 1862-1866, to rule in the face of all opposition, he was too wise not to see that public opinion was an important asset in politics; consequently, he spent much time in influencing and conciliating the crowd.

The weak side of his character lay in his uncertainty of temper and imperiousness: hence it was that when opposed by political foes he was too often ready to call in

all the majesty and power of the state to crush them, and 'Bismarckbeleidigung' became a common offence at the police courts; while, as we have seen, as in the case of Holstein and in that of the Ems telegram, he never scrupled to use any means to attain his end. Yet in striking contrast to this was his generous treatment of the nations whom he had conquered. The sense of proportion and moderation were strongly developed in his character, and it was thanks to this that the German Empire is so securely founded. As he said of his policy at the time, 'The newspapers will not be satisfied, the historian may very likely condemn our Conservatism: he may say, "The stupid fellow might have asked for more, he would have got it, they would have given it to him: his might was right." I was more anxious that these people should go away heartily satisfied. What is the use of treaties which men are forced to sign?' Thus it was that he successfully solved the problem which had puzzled all patriotic Germans from the days of Charlemagne.





## INDEX

- AACHEN, cp. Aix-la-Chapelle.
- Abderahman, defeated at Poitiers, 10.
- II., Ommayada ruler of Spain, 24.
- Abu Bekr, conquers Persia, 9.
- Academies of Pisa and Florence, founded by Lorenzo de' Medici, 185.
- Acre, besieged by Philip Augustus, 97-8; Frederic II. at, 129; siege by Napoleon, 371.
- Agnes, Empress, upholds antipope, 71; attends Lateran Council, 76.
- of Meran, adulterous marriage, 100; children legitimised, 101, 106.
- Aix-la-Chapelle, death of Charlemagne, 33; Partition of, 40; place of imperial coronation, 157; Treaty of 1668, 313; Congress of, 392; Bismarck at, 425-6.
- Alaric, conquers Rome, 4.
- Alberti, Leo Battista, friendship with Lorenzo de' Medici, 186-7.
- Albigenses, heretics, 107; crusade against, 107-8.
- Albornoz, Cardinal, government of Rome, 161, 166.
- Alcabala, tax on sales, 254.
- Alcuin advises Charlemagne, 30; teaches at Imperial Academy, 37.
- Aleander, Girolamo, legate at Diet of Worms, 231-2.
- Alexander I., czar, at Tilsit, 381; breaks with Napoleon, 384; restores Bourbons, 385; attempted murder, 392.
- II., pope, Norman nominee, 71; struggle with antipope, 71-2.
- VI., pope, Rodrigo Borgia, 216.
- Alexia, Empress, demands aid from Urban II., 88-9.
- Alsace, relinquished by Spain, 307; annexed by Louis XIV., 318; ceded to Germany, 442.
- Alva, Duke of, commands against pope, 253; attacked by Don Carlos, 260; failure in Netherlands, 261-2; success in Portugal, 265; character, 271.
- America, Columbus lands in Bahamas, 204; Columbus' further discoveries, 204-14; origin of the name, 210; Philip's possessions, 254; influence on French Revolution, 359.
- Amiens, Peace of, 375; causes of rupture, 377.
- Anabaptists at Zwickau, 233; at Münster, 239; Luther's dislike of, 242.
- Angelo, Michael, educated by Lorenzo de' Medici, 185.
- Antonio, Dom, claims to Portugal, 265-6; expedition on his behalf, 269; proposed assassination, 271.
- Antwerp, the 'Spanish Fury,' 263.
- Arcola, battle of, 369.
- Armada, Spanish, its failure, 266-7.
- Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, progenitor of Frankish emperors, 8.
- of Flanders, arranges murder of William Longsword, 44; joins Louis and Otto, 48-9; distrusted by allies, 49.
- Arthur of Brittany, ousted by John, 100; murdered, 101.
- Aspern-Essling, battle of and effect, 383-4.
- Athanasius, controversy, 4.
- Athaulf, admiration of Roman system, 4.
- Atlantic, early discoveries, 190; Portuguese exploration, 192.
- Auerstädt, battle of, 381.

- Augsburg, Luther at Diet, 228;  
 Recess of, 240, 246. Ferdinand II.  
 sets aside Recess, 280.
- Augustenburg, Duke of, claims to  
 Holstein, 436-7.
- Augustine, in Britain, 6.
- Augustinian Eremites, their spiritu-  
 ality, 217; joined by Luther, 232;  
 teaching work, 224.
- Aumale, Treaty of, 95.
- Austerlitz, battle of, 381.
- Austrasia, extent of, 15.
- Austria, Ost Mark, 59; first Haps-  
 burg emperor, 145; Albert of  
 Hapsburg, 149; marriage with  
 Luxemburgs, 153; compact with  
 Luxemburgs, 159-60; adoption of  
 policy of Charles IV., 164; posses-  
 sion of the empire, 218; division  
 of Austrian and Spanish families,  
 249; Richelieu attempts to over-  
 throw, 301-3; struggle with Louis  
 XIV., 320-4; struggle with Hohen-  
 zollerns, 330; war of Austrian Suc-  
 cession, 337-40; diplomatic revolu-  
 tion, 342-3; Seven Years' War,  
 343-6; Partition of Poland, 348-50;  
 attitude to France during Revolu-  
 tion, 361; events leading to Campo  
 Formio, 367-70; success in Italy,  
 372; Marengo campaign, 374;  
 creation of Austrian Empire, 379;  
 Austerlitz, 379-80; struggle with  
 Napoleon, 383-5; Quadruple Alli-  
 ance, 391; interference in Italy,  
 393-8; the Italian revolution, 401-  
 3; Crimean War, 406-7; events  
 leading to Treaty of Zürich, 408-9;  
 position in Germany after Congress  
 of Vienna, 420-1; Revolution of  
 1848-9, 428-30; growing antipathy  
 to Prussia, 430-1; attempt to alter  
 Constitution of Germany, 435-6;  
 Schleswig-Holstein, 436-7; Seven  
 Weeks' War, 437-8; Triple Alli-  
 ance, 443.
- Avars, conquest of, 26-7.
- Avignon, papal residence, 147, 161.
- Arian heresy, 3, 6.
- Azores, discovered by Carthaginians,  
 190; rediscovered by Portuguese,  
 198; Columbus at, 199, 205.
- BABEQUE, cp. Jamaica.
- Babington, failure of plot, 266.
- Babylonish Captivity, commence-  
 ment, 147; Charles IV. attempts to  
 end, 161-2; end, 216.
- Balance of Power, attempted, 329-  
 30.
- Balbo, Cesare, policy and connec-  
 tion with Cavour, 399.
- Ban, Charlemagne's eightfold, 36.
- Barras, aids Napoleon, 366-7.
- Bastille, fall of, 360.
- Battle of the Fords, 52.
- Bavaria, conquered by sons of Clovis,  
 7; revolt against Charlemagne,  
 26-7; Wittelsbachs' family posses-  
 sions, 150; Wittelsbachs' struggle  
 with Luxemburgs, 150-1; family  
 compact broken, 153; curbed by  
 Golden Bull, 159; part in Thirty  
 Years' War, 280-95; Richelieu in-  
 trigues with, 303; claim to throne  
 of Spain, 321; attitude in War of  
 Austrian Succession, 338-40; alli-  
 ance with Napoleon, 380; joins  
 German Empire, 442.
- Baylen, defeat of Dupont, 382; shock  
 to French prestige, 383.
- Beggars, the, revolt against Spain,  
 267.
- Behaim, Martin, inventor of astrolabe,  
 197.
- Belleisle, Count of, forms league  
 against Maria Theresa, 338.
- Benedict IX., pope, 61.  
 — x., pope, 68.
- Berengar of Tours, heresy, 66.
- Berlin, threatened by Gustavus  
 Adolphus, 291; Treaty of, 422;  
 Congress of, 443.
- Bernard, the Dane, protects Richard  
 the Fearless, 44-5; summons the  
 Danes, 46-7; influence on Richard,  
 50.  
 — of Saxe-Weimar, at Lützen,  
 297; defeated at Nördlingen, 301.  
 — of Senlis, befriends Richard the  
 Fearless, 46.
- Bilad Ghana, the land of wealth, 192.
- Bismarck, Otto Eduard Leopold von,  
 family, 423-4; education, 424-5;  
 administrative work, 425; visit to  
 England, 426; country life, 427;  
 early political life, 428; strong  
 particularist, 429-30; member of  
 Bundestag, 431; ambassador to  
 Russia, 432; causes leading to his  
 becoming minister, 433-4; opposi-

- tion to Austria, 435; Schleswig-Holstein, 436-7; Seven Weeks' War, 437-8; preparation for struggle with France, 439; Ems telegram, 440-1; Franco-Prussian War, 441; peace negotiations, 442; system of Alliances, 443; the Kulturkampf, 403-4; struggle with Socialists, 444-6; resignation and last years, 446-7; character and work, 447-51.
- Bisticci, Vespasiano da, contribution to Renaissance, 169.
- Black Death, effect on political situation in Germany, 152.
- Bobadilla, arrests Columbus, 210.
- Bohemia, advance under Charles IV., 153-5; war of Austrian Succession, 340.
- Bohio, cp. Hispaniola.
- Bologna, School of Law, 90.
- Bonaparte, Charles, his history, 362.
- Jerome, King of Westphalia, 381.
- Joseph, at Brienne, 362; King of Naples, 380; King of Spain, 382; difficulties in Spain, 383-4.
- Letizia, influence on Napoleon, 362.
- Louis, King of Holland, 380.
- Lucien, at 18th Brumaire, 372.
- Napoleon, cp. Napoleon I.
- Pauline, Princess Borghese, 379.
- Boniface, Archbishop, crowns Pippin, 13.
- VIII., pope, issues bull *Clericis Laicos*, 146; captured, 147.
- Bora, Catherine, wife of Luther, 238; domestic difficulties, 243.
- Bordeaux, Treaty ending Fronde, 306.
- Brandenburg, The Alt Mark, 59; extinction of Ascanian branch, 149; ceded to Charles IV., 160; granted to Sigismund, 163; usurpation of *jus episcopale*, 217; wooed by Sweden, 281; attempts to remain neutral, 284; refuses to join Gustavus Adolphus, 289; disgusted by revocation of Edict of Nantes, 318; early history and connection with Prussia, cp. Prussia, 330-2.
- Breitenfeldt, battle of, 291-2.
- Brumaire, revolution of 18th Brumaire, 392.
- Bryce, Professor, epigram on Charles IV., 156.
- Bucer, at Marburg, 236; at Ratisbon, 239-40.
- Bundestag, formation of, 420; weakness, 421; summoned by Austria to check Prussia, 430; Bismarck, minister at, 431-2; appealed to by Austria and Prussia before war, 438.
- CADIZ, burned by English, 269.
- Cadoudal, Georges, plot, 377-8.
- Cambacérés, second consul, 373.
- Campeggio, organises Catholic League, 234.
- Campo Formio, Treaty of, 270; effect on Germany, 420.
- Canaries, rediscovered by Portuguese, 192; Columbus starts from, 203; population, 204.
- Cape of Good Hope, reached by Carthaginians, 191; rounded by Diaz, 201.
- Cape St. Vincent, observatory at Sagrès, 192.
- Capua, administrative capital of Naples, 126.
- Caracalla, Edict, 1.
- Carbonari, work of, 394.
- Caribs, found at Azores, 199; description of, 204.
- Carlstadt, Anabaptist leader, 233.
- Carloman, his reign, 14-6.
- Carlos, Don, birth, 249; madness, 260-1; death, 271.
- Carranza, arrested by Inquisition, 256.
- Carthaginians, voyages, 190.
- Castiglione, battle of, 369.
- Catherine II. of Russia, influenced by Voltaire, 329; deposes her husband, 346; partition of Poland, 348-50; idea of duty, 358.
- Catholic League, formation, 234; work, 235-6; Edict of Restitution, 287; relation to Bavaria, 298.
- Cavour, Camillo Basso di, education, 395; early years abroad, 396; returns to Italy, 397; newspaper articles, 398; the *Risorgimento*, 399-40; Piedmontese parliament, 400-1; Custoza campaign, 401-2; political importance, 403-4; prime minister, 405-7; events leading to Villafranca, 408-9; the Sicilian Revolution, 410-1; Union of

- Naples, 412; negotiations with Papacy, 413; attacked by Garibaldi, 413-4; death, 414; character and work, 414-8.
- Celestine IV., pope, 136.
- Cencius, attack on Gregory, 76.
- Chambres des Réunion, in Alsace, 318.
- Chalcedon, Council of, 5.
- Charlemagne, emperor, character, 15-6; education, 16; early difficulties, 17; policy, 18; Saxon wars, 19-21; Lombardy and Papacy, 21-4; Spanish Campaign, 24-6; conquest of Bavaria, 26-7; overthrow of Avars, 27-8; relations with Leo III., 28-9; restoration of empire, 29-31; result of coronation, 31-2; Eastern Empire, 32; Danes, 33; administration, 34-6; tastes, 36-8; Louis XIV., 312; sword at Napoleon's coronation, 379; Napoleon, 389.
- Charles IV., emperor, King of the Romans, 150; discredited, 151; recognised, 152; work in Bohemia, 153-4; attitude to Papacy, 155; the Golden Bull, 156-8; dynastic policy, 159-61; Babylonish Captivity, 161; Great Schism, 162; struggle with Leagues, 162; policy and character, 163-4; Brandenburg, 331.
- V., emperor, candidate for empire, 229; Luther at Worms, 231-2; Italian politics, 236; Diet of Augsburg, 237; Diet of Ratisbon, 239-40; attacks Lutherans, 245-6; education of Philip II., 248; his policy, 249; bureaucracy in Spain, 250; marriage of Philip and Mary, 251; resignation, 252; effect of his reign on Spain, 254-5.
- VI., emperor, candidate for Spanish crown, 321-2; emperor, 328; Pragmatic Sanction, 330; betrays Frederic William, 335.
- of Anjou King of Sicily, 146.
- II. of England, in Louis' pay, 315.
- II. of Spain, succeeds to throne, 312; succession question, 320-1.
- IX. of Sweden, usurps throne, 275; campaign in Russia, 276; education of Gustavus Adolphus, 279.
- Charles Albert of Carignano, education and policy, 383-5; afraid of Liberals, 397; in favour of railway expansion, 398; refuses Constitution, 400; war with Austria, 401-2.
- Martel, battle of Poitiers, 10.
- the Simple, grants Rouen to Normans, 41, 43.
- Archduke, opposes Napoleon in Italy, 369; at Wagram, 383.
- Château Gaillard, building, 100; capture, 102.
- Cherasco, armistice, 368.
- Childeric, last Meroving, 8.
- Christian IV. of Denmark, attempt to gain Gottenborg, 278; leader of Protestants, 284; defeat at Lutter, 285.
- Chrysoloras, Manuel, in Italy, 168-9.
- Cipango, or Japan, position on maps, 199; mistaken for Cuba by Columbus, 204.
- Cisalpine Republic, formation, 370; end, 379.
- Civitate, battle of, 67.
- Clair-sur-Epte, treaty of, 41.
- Clement II., pope, crowns Henry III., 62; death, 64.
- III., antipope, 80.
- V., pope, commences Babylonish captivity, 147.
- VI., interference with empire, 150-1; friendship with Charles IV., 153.
- VII., first schismatic pope, 162.
- Clovis, founds Frankish kingdom, 6-7.
- Cluniacs, Bec, 56; growth of movement, 60-1; lay investiture contest, 74.
- Coceji, reorganises Prussian law, 341.
- Code Napoleon, introduction, 375; popularity, 387-392.
- Colba, cp. Cuba.
- Colbert, appreciation of Mazarin, 308; succeeds Fouquet, 310; work, 310-1.
- Columbus, Bartholomew, in England, 200; founds San Domingo, 209-10; on fourth voyage, 211-2.
- Christopher, parentage, 193; education, 194; with Niccolo, 195; settles in Portugal, 196; voyages to



- Guinea and Iceland, 197; communications with Behaim and Toscanelli, 197-8; plans discovery, 199; in Spain, 200-2; first voyage, 202-5; second, 206-9; third, 209-10; prisoner in Spain, 211; fourth voyage, 211-2; death, 212; criticism, 213-4.
- Columbus, Diego, in Hispaniola, 207-8.
- Domenico, father of Christopher, 192.
- Ferdinand, stories of his father, 195, 197; birth, 201; on fourth voyage, 211-2.
- Niccolo, corsair, 194-5.
- Concordat, the, 375.
- Condé, politics, 304; Lens, 305; joins Spaniards, 306; success in Franche Comté, 313; in Dutch war, 314-5.
- Confederation of the Rhine, formation, 380-1.
- Conrad III., emperor, leads crusade, 89.
- King of Romans proclaimed, 134.
- of Montferrat in Palestine, 98.
- Conradin, last Hohenstaufen, 146.
- Constance, Council of, end of Babylonish captivity, 216-7; Luther's opinion of, 232; early reformers, 245.
- Empress, marriage, 117; death, 118.
- Constans II., kidnaps Pope Martin, 12.
- Constantine I., changes seat of empire, 3.
- V., blinded, 29.
- Constantinople, foundation, 3; connection with Italy, 168; trade centre, 191; captured by Turks, 193.
- Consulate, the, 373.
- Contarini, at Ratisbon, 239; evangelicals at Rome, 245.
- Continental system established, 381; broken up, 384.
- Convention, the, 366.
- Copenhagen, capture of Danish fleet, 382.
- Corpus Evangelicorum, designed by Gustavus Adolphus, 298.
- Corsica, struggle with France, 362; Napoleon and the Revolution, 363-5.
- Cortenuova, battle of, 135.
- Cotta, Frau, befriends Luther, 220-1.
- Counter Reformation, the, preparation, 245-7; Philip II. leads, 272; success in seventeenth century, 274; under direction of Hapsburgs, 280-1.
- Crecy, battle of, 150.
- Cremona, Diet of, 127.
- Crescimbeni, appreciation of Lorenzo's poetry, 187.
- Crimean war, part played by Piedmont, 406-7; attitude of Prussia, 432.
- Cromwell, alliance with France, 307.
- Crusades, causes, 87-9; second, 89; third, 95-8; Barbarossa, 116; Damietta, 123; Frederic II.'s success, 129-30; proposal at Lyons, 137; effect on commerce, 190; proposed by Columbus, 202.
- Cuba, discovered by Columbus, 204; explored on second voyage, 207-8; Columbus' final resting-place, 213.
- Customs Union, origin in Prussia, 423; Austria desires to join, 431-2; South German states admitted, 437.
- Custozza, battle of, 402.
- DAMASUS II., pope, 64.
- Dante on Frederic II., 132; influence on Renaissance, 187.
- Dantzic, attack by Gustavus Adolphus, 284-5.
- Daun, opposed to Frederic the Great, 344-6.
- d'Azeglio, attitude to revolution in Naples, 400; proposes Cavour as minister, 404; resigns, 405.
- Decrees in Council, 382.
- Decretals of Gratian, forged, 90.
- D'Enghien, murder of, 378.
- Denmark, unrest, 33; the Danes, 40-1; Danes in France, 43-6; seizure of Danish fleet by English, 382; attempt to annex Schleswig-Holstein, 436-7.
- Desiderius, struggle with Charlemagne, 21-3.
- Dessau, Leopold of, Kesselsdorf, 340; reprimanded by Frederic the Great, 356.
- Devolution, War of, 312-3.
- Diaz, Bartholomew, rounds Cape, 201.
- Diet, organised by Maximilian, 218.

Diocletian, reforms of, 2.  
 Directory, establishment, 362; Vendémiaire, 366; afraid of Napoleon, 367-9; Egypt, 370-1; fall of, 372; greed, 392.  
*Disputationes Camaldunenses*, description of Lorenzo de' Medici, 186-7.  
 Disraeli, meeting with Bismarck, 434.  
 Drake burns Lisbon, 266-7; fails the second time, 269.  
 Dresden, Treaty of, 340-1.  
 Drogo, in Italy, 67.  
 Dual alliance, formation, 443.  
 Dudo, historian, 56.  
 ECCELIN of Romano, alliance with Frederic II., 135; success against Lombard League, 137.  
 Eck, John, of Ingolstadt, Obelisks, 227; Leipzig disputation, 230; at Worms, 232.  
 Edict of Restitution, effect of, 287; withdrawal, 293.  
 Edward III., Hundred Years' War, 148; refuses Imperial crown, 152.  
 Eginhard, friend of Charlemagne, 32.  
 Egmont, leader of revolt in Netherlands, 261-2.  
 Egypt, Leibnitz suggests conquest, 314; Napoleon in, 370-2; restored to Turkey, 375.  
 Eisenach, Luther at school, 219-20.  
 Electoral Prince of Bavaria, claim to Spanish throne, 321.  
 Electors, origin of claims, 145; policy to emperor, 148; regularised by Golden Bull, 156-7.  
 Elizabeth, Czarina, hates Frederic, 342; effect of death, 346.  
 — of England, early attitude to Philip II., 257; struggle with Philip, 264-6.  
 El-Karnil, negotiations with Frederic II., 130.  
 Emma, affianced to Richard the Fearless, 47-8; Richard's attitude to, 50; flies from Richard, 54.  
 England, struggles for Continental possessions, 97-113; connection with Frederic II., 134; Hundred Years' War, 148-52; visited by Columbus, 195; embassy of Bartholomew Columbus, 200;

Wycliffe's influence, 215; threatens Netherlands, 249; Cateau-Cambrésis, 254; capitulation at Leith, 257; the Armada, 264-7; Thirty Years' War, 281; Triple Alliance against Louis XIV., 313; revocation of Edict of Nantes, 318; under James II., 319; War of League of Augsburg, 320; Partition Treaties, 321-2; War of Spanish Succession, 323-4; struggle for Colonial supremacy, 336-7; War of Austrian Succession, 338-40; Seven Years' War, 342-7; struggle with French, 370-2; Peace of Amiens, 375; Continental struggle to Tilsit, 379-81; Peninsular War, 382-3; friction with Prussia over colonies, 445-6.  
 Enzo, captures General Council, 136; war against Lombard League, 139-40.  
 Erasmus, controversy with Luther, 233; on Luther's marriage, 238; compared with Luther, 343.  
 Eratosthenes, measurements of earth, 191, 198.  
 Erfurt University, 221; Luther and the Augustinians, 222; Luther receives doctorate, 235; effect of, on Luther, 241; meeting of czar and Napoleon, 381.  
 Eric, Duke of Friuli, storms Rhings, 27.  
 Escorial, building, 272.  
 Este, Ercole d', campaign against Florence, 174-5.  
 Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, 10.  
 Eugène de Beauharnais, marriage, 381.  
 Eylau, battle of, 381.  
 FAVRE, peace negotiations, 442.  
 Fécamp, foundation, 56.  
 Ferdinand II., emperor, struggle with Elector Palatine, 200; Edict of Restitution, 288; withdraws edict, 293.  
 — II. of Naples (Bomba), refuses Constitution, 400; cruelty, 407.  
 — of Spain, war with Moors, 201; reception of Columbus, 201-2; at Barcelona, 206; mistrust of Columbus, 209, 211, 212; fosters national feeling, 253.

- Ferrand of Portugal, claims to Flanders, 103; captured at Bouvines, 104.
- Ferrante of Naples, interview with Lorenzo, 174; conspiracy against Lorenzo, 178-9; coalition against Florence, 180-1; appeals to France, 183; admiration of Lorenzo, 185.
- Feudalism, growth, 58.
- Ficino, Marsilio, friendship with Lorenzo de' Medici, 186.
- Flarchheim, battle of, 80.
- Fleurus, battle of, 361.
- Florence, geographical position, 166; Constitution, 170-1; coming of the Medici, 171-2; the Plain and Mountain, 173-5; under Lorenzo, 175-186.
- Forchheim, deposition of Henry IV., 80.
- Fox, negotiations with Napoleon, 380.
- France, at time of Clovis, 7; Moslem invasion, 9-10; at time of Charlemagne, 14; under his successors, 40; break up of Frankish kingdom, 42-57; growth in twelfth century, 91-2; under Philip Augustus, 93-113; Hundred Years' War, 147-52; interference in Italy, 183; intrigues with Schmalkaldic League, 245-6; Cateau-Cambrésis, 254; Catherine de' Medici, 257; the Guises, 265-6; Henry IV., 269; in sixteenth century, 301; Richelieu, 302-3; under Louis XIV. 304-28; struggle for colonies, 336; War of Austrian Succession, 338-40; events leading to Revolution, 358-61; under Napoleon, 362-90; after Congress of Vienna, 391-2; interference in Spain, 394; alliance with Piedmont, 408-9; Franco-Prussian War, 439-442; Dual Alliance, 443.
- Francis I. of France, candidate for Empire, 229; Schmalkaldic League, 237.
- II., emperor, struggle to retain Lombardy, 368-9; ends Holy Roman Empire, 379.
- II. of Naples, end of kingdom of Naples, 410-12.
- Franco-Prussian War, as regards Italy, 414; war and result, 438-2.
- Frankfort, Diet of, 149; Imperial elections, 157; Bundestag, 420; Bismarck at, 431.
- Franks, rise and fall, 6-8; possessions at time of Charlemagne, 14.
- Frederic I., emperor (Barbarossa), reasserts empire, 91; indignant reply to Romans, 115; struggle with Papacy and Lombard League, 116-7.
- II., emperor, backed by Philip Augustus, 105; childhood, 118; character, 119; degradation, 119-21; ward of Papacy, 120; invades Germany, 121; opportunist policy, 122; disobeys pope, 123; builds up power in the south, 124-6; the crusades, 127-130; reconciliation with Papacy, 131; University of Naples, 132-3; difficulties in Germany, 133-4; the Lombard League, 134-5; capture of General Council, 136; deposed by Innocent IV., 137-8; civil war in Italy and Germany, 138-9; death, 140; character and work, 140-3; last descendant of Otto the Great, 145.
- I. of Prussia, policy, 331-2.
- II. (The Great) of Prussia, influenced by Voltaire, 329; education, 333; ill treatment, 324; marriage, 335; his accession, 336; War of Austrian Succession, 337-40; administrative schemes, 341; quarrel with Voltaire, 341-2; the Seven Years' War, 342-6; causes of his success, 346-7; reorganisation of country, 347-8; the Partition of Poland, 348-50; struggle with Joseph II., 351-2; character and work, 352-7; idea of liberty, 358.
- the Wise, of Saxony, founds University of Wittenberg, 224; at Diet of Augsburg, 228; receives Golden Rose, 229; deports Luther to Wartburg, 232; converted by Luther, 234.
- IX., Elector Palatine, seizes Bohemia, 281; character, 283.
- William I. of Prussia, aims, 332; education of Frederic the Great, 333-4; hatred of Austria, 335.
- II. of Prussia, character, 353; interferes in France, 361.
- III. of Prussia, dominated by Metternich, 422.

- Frederic William IV. of Prussia, refuses Constitution, 427; meeting with Bismarck, 428; refuses title of Emperor of the Germans, 429; resignation, 432.
- Friars, foundation, 107; upholders of Papacy, 215; preach against Frederic II., 128, 135; reformation in sixteenth century, 217; the Capuchins, 247.
- Friedland, battle of, 381.
- Fronde, war of, 305-6.
- Fürstenbund, Confederation of Princes, 352.
- GAMA, VASCO DA, voyage to India, 211.
- Gambetta, peace negotiations, 442.
- Gardie, de la, military tutor of Gustavus Adolphus, 277; in Russia, 279.
- Garibaldi, return to Italy, 399; at Rome, 403; in Piedmontese army, 408; Sicilian Expedition, 410-2; attack on Cavour, 413-4.
- Gastein, Convention of, 437.
- Genoa, commercial prosperity, 165; ceded to Piedmont, 393.
- George, Duke of Saxony, calls Luther a heretic, 230; joins Catholic League, 236.
- William of Brandenburg, dislikes Swedish Alliance, 282; territories violated, 284; Treaty of Stuhmsdorf, 286; attempts to remain neutral, 289-91; retrospect, 331.
- Germanic Confederation, establishment of, 391, 419.
- Germany, under Charlemagne, 14; under his successors, 40; Otto the Great, 52; connection with Italy, 59-62; boyhood of Henry IV., 71-2; under Henry IV., 79-82; civil war, 87; under Barbarossa, 91; last struggle of Hohenstaufen, 114-43; the lesser emperors, 145-50; under Charles IV., 150-64; religious disturbance, 216; Maximilian, 218; the Reformation, 219-40; Charles V., 265-7; Hundred Years' War, 280-307, 374; League of Augsburg, 319-20; Frederic the Great, 333-52; Lunéville and Campo Formio, 374-79; struggle with Napoleon, 380-5; serfdom, 389; revolutionary spirit, 392; cause of slow growth, 414; Revolution of, 1848-9, 428-30; proclamation of empire at Versailles, 442; Bismarck's work, 447-9.
- Ghibellines, origin, 117; drive pope from Rome, 129; aid Frederic II., 135; disgusted with Charles IV., 155; struggle in Florence, 170.
- Gioberti, leader of Illuminati, 399; premier, 403.
- Giraldus Cambrensis, on French kings, 110.
- Gladstone, on Bomba, 417.
- Godfrey of Lotharingia, stepfather of Countess Matilda, 68.
- Golden Bull, reform, 156-9; disregarded by Charles IV., 161-3; result of, 218.
- Gomez, Ruy, fails to arrange Philip's marriage, 251; character, 271.
- Granvelle, unpopular in Netherlands, 261.
- Great Elector, the, of Prussia, policy, 331.
- Great Schism, commencement, 162; end, 216.
- Gregory I., pope, establishes prestige of Papacy, 6.
- III., pope, cause of alliance with Franks, 12-3.
- V., pope, 60.
- VI., pope, buys Papacy, 62; patron of Hildebrand, 63; in exile, 64.
- VII., pope, cp. Hildebrand.
- IX., pope, difficulties with Frederic II., 127-131; joins Lombard League, 135-6.
- XI., pope, 162.
- Guanahani, Columbus' landfall, 203-4, 211.
- Guelf, origin, 117; opposition to Frederic II., 134; capture of Parma, 139; struggle in Florence, 170.
- Guise, Duke of, opposes Catherine de' Medici, 257; assassination, 268.
- Gustavus Adolphus, influence on Germany, 274; education, 276-8; war with Denmark, 278; war with Russia, 279; diplomatic marriage, 281-2; army reforms, 282-3; negotiations with James I., 283-4; victory of Wallhoff, 284; courage, 285; commercial reforms, 286;

- preparations for war in Germany, 288-9; Treaty with Richelieu, 290; fall of Magdeburg, 291; battle of Breitenfeldt, 291-2; occupation of the Main valley, 293; check at Nüremberg, 294; battle of Lützen, 295-7; character and work, 297-300.
- Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, 98.
- HADRIAN I., pope, intrigues against Lombards, 21-2; calls in Charlemagne, 22-3; death, 28.
- IV., pope, on the Papacy and empire, 115.
- Hanover, War of Austrian Succession, 337-40; Seven Years' War, 343-5; coveted by Prussia, 380; annexed by Prussia, 428.
- Hanseatic League, in thirteenth century, 144; war with Denmark, 162; jealousy of Sweden, 276, 281.
- Hapsburgs, cp. Austria.
- Harold Blaatand, supposed to be, 47; aids Richard the Fearless, 52-3.
- Haroun-al-Raschid, friendship with Charlemagne, 34.
- Harrison, Frederic, appreciation of Cavour, 417.
- Hauteville, rise of house of, 57; conquests in Italy, 67.
- Heilbronn, League of, effect of, 298, 301, 303.
- Henry I. the Fowler, ability, 58.
- III., emperor, suppresses Civil War, 61; attitude to Papacy, 62, 65; death, 68.
- IV., emperor, minority, 68; guardians, 79; character, 74-5; question of investiture, 75-6; events leading to Canossa, 77-9; sets up antipope, 80.
- VI., emperor, strong position and ambitions, 117-8.
- King of the Romans, birth, 120; elected, 122; opposes his father, 133-4.
- II. of England, meeting with Louis VII., 93; helps Philip Augustus, 94-5; Philip Augustus aids his rebel sons, 95-6.
- VIII. of England, candidate for empire, 229; Defender of the Faith, 238.
- Henry, the Lion, opposition to Hohenstaufen, 103, 113.
- of Luxemburg, emperor, policy, 148.
- of Thuringia, created King of the Romans, 138.
- of Navarre, heir to France, 268; becomes a Catholic, 269; his work, 302.
- the navigator, aid to explorers, 192-3.
- Herstal, quarrel with Prussia, 331.
- Hieromax, battle of, 9.
- Hildebrand, parentage, 62; friend of Gregory VI., 63-4; Archdeacon of Rome, 65; Berengar heresy, 66; influence, 67; papal election rules, 69; Norman Alliance, 70; Anselm, 71; becomes pope, 72; difficulties, 73; investiture quarrel, 74-80; struggle in Italy, 81-2; last days, 82-3; character and work, 83-6; crusades, 88; temporal power, 114.
- Hispaniola, discovery, 204; origin of name, 205; under Columbus' government, 207, 209-10; Columbus forbidden to visit, 211.
- Hohenstaufen, ambitions, 116, 118; struggle with Papacy, 141; fall, 165.
- Hohenzollern, cp. Prussia.
- Sigmaringen, Leopold of, candidate for Spanish crown, 440-1.
- Holland, struggle with Philip, 264-5; jealous of Sweden, 281; the Triple Alliance, 313; war with France, 314-5; attitude to French Revolution, 361; under Louis Bonaparte, 380; joined to Netherlands, 391.
- Honduras, discovery, 211.
- Honorius II., antipope, 71-2.
- III., pope, struggle with Frederick II., 122-3, 127.
- Horn, leads revolt in Netherlands, 122-6.
- Hubertsburg, Treaty of, 346.
- Hugh Capet, King of France, 512.
- Duke of Paris, duke, 42; hostility to Normans, 43, 46-7; alliance with Richard the Fearless, 47-9; death, 51.
- Duke of Burgundy, punished, 95.
- Huguenots, St. Bartholomew, 264; Henry of Navarre, 268-9; political



aspirations, 302; need of supervision, 306; attempted conversion, 311; punished, 314; revocation of Edict of Nantes, 317.  
 Hundred Years' War, chivalry, 145; origin, 148; Crecy, 150; Germany, 152.  
 Huss, contribution to Reformation, 215-6; Luther's advantage over, 241.

ICELAND, Columbus in, 197.

Illuminati, policy, 399.

*Imago Mundi*, studied by Columbus, 197-8.

'Importants, Les,' opposition to Mazarin, 304.

India, trade routes, 191; reached by da Gama, 211.

Indulgence, doctrine of, 226; Tetzel's, 227.

Ingeborg, cause of quarrel between Philip Augustus and Papacy, 101, 105-6.

Innocent III., pope, asks help against John, 103; takes part of Ingeborg, 105-6; despatches St. Dominic to Toulouse, 107; guardian of Frederic II., 118; attitude to Frederic, 121; greatness, 141.

— IV., pope, struggle with Frederic II., 136-7, 138-9.

— VI., pope, opposes Golden Bull, 158.

Inquisition, in Spain, 247, 256; in Netherlands, 262.

Intendants, organised by Louis XIV., 325.

Investiture, contest, commencement of, 74.

Irene, Empress, deposes Constans, 29; deposed, 32.

Irnerius, law school at Bologna, 90.

Isabella of Spain, helps Columbus, 201; dislike of slave trade, 209; death, 212.

Isidore, on battle of Poitiers, 10.

Italy, Lombard invasion, 5; at time of Charlemagne, 14; Charlemagne's influence, 22-4; evil of connection with Germany, 59-62; the Normans, 66-7, 70; Civil War, 87; struggle between Hohenstaufen and Papacy, 114-143; growth of

democratic ideas, 144; Charles IV. breaks connection, 154-5; the Renaissance, 165-70; under the Medici, 170-89; the Revolution, 361; campaign, 1796, 367-9; Napoleon in Italy, 370; Marengo, 374; Napoleonic kings of Naples, 379-80; popularity of Napoleonic system, 389; pleas for emancipation, 401; Cavour's hopes, 402; part played in Seven Weeks' War, 437-8; Triple Alliance, 443.  
 Ivo of Chartres, canon law, 90.

JACOBINS, appearance, 361; joined by Napoleon, 364-5.

Jamaica, discovery, 204-5; Columbus' visits, 207, 212.

James I. of England, plots on his behalf, 265-6; negotiations on behalf of Sweden, 278-9; Protestant union, 281; help for Elector Palatine, 283-4.

— II. of England, relations with France, 319; death, 333.

Jena, battle of, 381.

Jerusalem, captured by Seljuks, 80; Latin kingdom of, 89-90; Frederic II. at, 130; captured by Charismians, 137.

Jesuits, foundation, 247.

Joachim, Abbot, prophecies about Frederic II., 138, 140.

John XII., pope, crowns Otto the Great, 58, 59.

— of Bohemia, life, 149-50; compared with Charles IV., 153.

— of Brienne, connection with Frederic II., 127, 131.

— Don, of Austria, commands against Moriscoes, 259; at Lepanto, 260; in Netherlands, 261.

— of England, conspires against Richard, 99; struggle with France, 100-2; with Papacy, 103; Bouvines, 103-4.

— George, Elector of Saxony, desires neutrality, 289-91; joins Gustavus Adolphus, 291-4; at Lützen, 296; peace with emperor, 301.

Joseph II., influenced by Voltaire, 329; King of Romans, 346; meeting with Frederic, 349; grandiose,

- schemes, 351-2; idea of duty, 358.
- Josephine de Beauharnais, marriage with Napoleon, 366-7; unfaithful, 372; divorced, 383.
- Julius I., work, 5.
- II., Giuliano della Rovere, 216.
- Justinian, reconquest of Italy, 4.
- KALMAR, Union of, 275.
- Knäröd, Peace of, 278.
- Königgrätz, battle of, 438.
- Kotzebue, assassination, 421.
- Kulturkampf, struggle, 443-4.
- LAIBACH, Conference of, 394.
- Laon, last Frankish stronghold, 44, 45, 47.
- Landino Cristoforo, tutor of Lorenzo de' Medici, 173; *Disputationes Camaldunenses*, 186.
- Langued'oc, 108.
- Langued'oil, 108.
- Launay, de, reorganises Prussian finances, 347-8.
- La Vendée revolt, 366, 373.
- Legion of Honour, established, 376.
- Legitimacy, doctrine of, 392.
- Leo, the Isaurian, defeats Moslems, 11; iconoclastic decrees, 12.
- III., pope, gives empire to Charlemagne, 30-31.
- IX., idea of Papacy, 64-5; checks abuses, 65-6; death, 67.
- X., attitude to Luther, 227-9.
- Leoben, armistice of, 369.
- Leopold I., emperor, Spanish Succession question, 321.
- II., emperor, interferes in France, 311.
- Leopanto, battle of, 259-60.
- Lessing, on Frederic the Great, 355.
- Le Tellier, estimate of Louis XIV., 308; secretary for war, 309.
- Liber Pontificalis*, alleged grant of Charlemagne, 23.
- 'Lit de Justice,' Mazarin decrees, 305.
- Liutprand, Lombard king, 12-3.
- Lodi, battle of, 368.
- Lombard League, origin, 117, 124; struggle with Frederic II., 134-9.
- Lombards, invasion, 5; quarrels with Papacy, 12-4.
- Lombardy, cp. Milan.
- Lorraine, after Westphalia, 307; after Nimeguen, 314; attempted annexation by Louis XIV., 318; ceded to Prussia, 442.
- Lothaire, king, attempts to get possession of Hugh Capet, 51-2; defeated, 52-3.
- Loudon, opposed to Frederic the Great, 345-6.
- Louis, the Pious Emperor, in Spain, 25-6; unsuccessful reign, 39.
- d'Outremer, king, privy to murder of Longsword, 42-4; schemes against Richard the Fearless, 45-7; alliance with Otto, 48-9; death, 51.
- V., last Carolingian in France, 54.
- VII., on crusade, 89; builds up his power, 91-3.
- IX., St., remonstrates with pope, 138.
- XIV., early years, 304; the Fronde, 305-6; Mazarin's influence, 306; Spanish marriage, 307; ideas of kingship, 308-9; Colbert's work, 310-1; his vanity, 312; scheme to get Spain, 312-3; the path of conquest, 314; Dutch War, 315-6; religious questions, 316-8; League of Augsburg, 318-9; War, 320; Partition Treaties, 321-2; Spanish Succession War, 323; family bereavements, 324; his works and its results, 325-8.
- XVI., character, 358-9; Napoleon's criticism, 364.
- the Bavarian, emperor, alienates clergy and subjects, 149-50; civil war, 151-2.
- of Brandenburg, struggle with Charles IV., 151-3.
- Louvois, minister of war, 309; policy, 314; Dragonnades, 317; succeeded by his son, 320.
- Lowe, Sir Hudson, hated by Napoleon, 386.
- Loyola, Ignatius, founds Jesuits, 247.
- Lügenfeldt, Field of Lies, 39.
- Lunéville, Peace of, 324.
- Luther, birth, 218; boyhood, 219-221; becomes Augustinian monk, 222; theological difficulties, 223; Wittenberg and Rome, 224-5; Professor of Theology, 225-6; Thesis against Indulgences, 227;

- at Augsburg, 228; raises question of papal infallibility, 230; under ban of empire, 232; opposes Anabaptists, 233; opposed to Peasant Rising, 235; opposed to Zwinglians, 236; Schmalkaldic League, 237; marriage, 238-9; refuses accommodation of Ratisbon, 239-40; death, 240; character and work, 241-4.
- Lützen, battle of, 295-7.
- Luxemburghs, Henry VII., 149; possessions, 150; Bohemia, 153.
- Luxemburg, attempted annexation by Napoleon III., 439.
- Lyons, Council of, 137-8.
- MAASSEN, VON, founder of Customs Union, 423.
- Mack, surrenders at Ulm, 380.
- Magdeburg, Luther at, 219-220; expels Catholics, 289; sack, 291.
- Magenta, battle of, 408.
- Magyars, invade Europe, 41-2.
- Mahmoud of Ghazni, conquests, 87.
- Maintenon, Madame de, origin, 315; influence over Louis XIV., 317; care of Louis, 325.
- Malta, threatened by Turks, 257-8; restored at Amiens, 375.
- Manfred, seizes Sicily, 146.
- Manifestacion, claimed by Perez, 268.
- Mantua, siege of, 369.
- Manzikert, battle of, 88.
- Marengo, battle of, 374.
- Margaret of Parma, in Netherlands, 261-3.
- the Union Queen, 275.
- Maria Theresa, refuses to give up Silesia, 337; War of Austrian Succession, 338-40; Seven Years' War, 343-4; Partition of Poland, 350.
- wife of Louis XIV., 307.
- Marie Louise, married to Napoleon, 383.
- Markwald of Anweiler, in Sicily, 118-9.
- Marozia, mother of popes, 59.
- Martin II., pope, kidnapped, 12.
- v., pope, partitions New World, 206.
- Mary of England, marriage with Philip II., 252.
- Mary Stuart, struggle with Elizabeth, 357; plots against Elizabeth, 264-7.
- Masséna, Italian campaign, 1794, 365; Zürich, 372; siege of Genoa, 374.
- Matilda, Countess, supports Nicolas II., 68-9; upholds Hildebrand, 73, 78; interview with Henry IV., 79; founds law school at Bologna, 90; grants estates to Church, 116.
- Maupertuis, ridiculed by Voltaire, 342.
- Maurice of Saxony, deserts Charles V., 245-6.
- Maximilian I., emperor, attempts to reform empire, 218; defends Luther, 228; death, 229.
- of Bavaria, Tilly's master, 287; in Thirty Years' War, 293-4.
- Mayors of the Palace, importance of, 7-8.
- Mazarin, Cardinal, selected by Richelieu, 303; unpopular, 304; the Fronde, 305-6; influence over Louis XIV., 306; policy, 307; work and pupils, 308-9; disappearance of his pupils, 320.
- Mazzini, founds 'Young Italy,' 394-5; mistrusted by Cavour, 396; his party, 399; in Milan, 402; at Rome, 403; connection with the 'Thousand,' 410-1.
- Medici, Catherine de', struggle with Philip II., 257.
- Cosmo de', his career, 171-3.
- Giovanni de', brought up as Cardinal, 188.
- Giuliano de', death, 179-180.
- Lorenzo de', education, 173; political training, 174-6; arrogance, 177; struggle with pope, 178-81; Riario conspiracy, 179-80; journey to Naples, 181; reorganises constitution, 182; dread of foreign intervention, 183; sources of wealth, 183-4; patron of letters, 184-5; his friends, 186-7; poetic gifts, 187; character and work, 188-9.
- Piero de', career, 170-3.
- Salvestro de', inaugurates family, policy, 171.
- Medina Sidonia, Duke of, befriends Columbus, 201.
- responsible for failure of Armada, 267; report on Cadiz, 269.
- Melanchthon, lectures on St. Paul,

- 232; sees Luther's faults, 235; at Marburg, 236; at Augsburg, 237; at Ratisbon, 240; Philip of Hesse's marriage, 242.
- Merovings, family failure, 7.
- Metternich, with Napoleon at Dresden, 390; Italian policy, 393; Flies to London, 401; Carlsbad decrees, 421; dominates Germany, 422.
- Michael Caerulus, Patriarch of Constantinople, 67.  
— Romanoff, founds family, 279.
- Michelet, on Louis XIV., 328.
- Milan, head of Lombard League, 117, 124, 134-9; under Visconti, 161; overlord of Genoa, 165; attitude to Florence, 180-3; granted to Philip II., 249; at break up of Spanish Empire, 321-4; conquered by Napoleon, 368-9; given to Austria, 393; struggle with Austria, 401-2.
- Millesimo, battle of, 368.
- Miltitz, Von, attempts to conciliate Luther, 229-30.
- Mirabeau, fails to curb Revolution, 360.
- Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della, philosopher, 186.
- Minorca, seized by French, 343.
- Missi, origin, 17; restore Leo III., 30; under Charlemagne, 35.
- Mohammed, founds religion, 8-9.
- Mohammedans, conquer Persia, 9; defeated at Poitiers, 10; defeated by Leo the Isaurian, 11; possessions at time of Charlemagne, 14; capture Constantinople, 193; struggle with Philip II. in Mediterranean, 357-60.
- Mollwitz, battle of, 337-8.
- Moltke, Von, Seven Weeks' War, 438; Ems telegram, 440-1; desires war in 1876, 443.
- Mongols, invasion, 136-7.
- Montenotte, battle of, 368.
- Montesecco, Giovanni Battista da, attempts to murder Lorenzo de' Medici, 179-81.
- Montfort, Simon de, conquers Albigenes, 108-9.  
— Simon de, in Italy, 126.
- Moore, Sir John, in Spain, 382.
- Moors, cross into Spain, 147; African trade, 191-2; driven out of Spain, 201.
- Moreau, at Hohenlinden, 374; banished to America, 378.
- Moriscoes, treatment by Philip II., 258-9.
- Moscow, retreat from, 384.
- Motley, friendship with Bismarck, 425; appreciation of Bismarck, 431.
- Moxica, de, rebellion, 211.
- Mühlberg, battle of, 246.
- Murat, King of Naples, 382; deserts Napoleon, 384.
- Muret, battle of, 108.
- NAPLES, Norman Conquest, 66-7, 117; university, 132; two Sicilies, 146; reunion, 166; alliance with Florence and Milan, 172; war against Florence, 180-1; war with Spain, 209; attached to Spain, 249; Joseph and Murat, 382; revolution, 393-4; Bomba, 400, 407; joined to Piedmont, 410-2.
- Napoleon I., compared to Frederic II., 142; his dictum, 274; early years, 362; artillery training, 363; revolution in Corsica, 364; Toulon, 365; Vendémiaire, 366; Italian campaign, 367-9; struggle with Directory, 370; Egyptian campaign, 371-2; *coup d'état* of Brumaire, 372-3; Marengo, 374; policy after Amiens, 375; Legion of Honour, 376; rupture of Amiens, 377; murder of d'Enghien, 378; emperor, 378-9; Austerlitz and Jena, 380-1; Spain, 382; Wagram, 383; Russian campaign, 384; abdication, 385; Hundred Days, 385-6; St. Helena, 386; character and work, 386-90.  
— III., president, 405; events leading to Villafranca, 408-9; advice to Cavour, 411; interference after Königgrätz, 438; struggle with Bismarck, 439; Franco-Prussian War, 440-2.  
— Prince, marriage with Princess Clotilde, 408.
- Necker, advice refused by Louis XVI., 359.
- Nelson, Trafalgar, 377-8.
- Netherlands, importance to Charles V., 249; Philip II. in, 251-3; revolt, 261-5; War of Devolution, 312-3; barrier fortresses, 315; war of League of Augsburg, 320.

- Neustria, kingdom of, 7, 15.  
 Ney, refuses to obey Napoleon, 385.  
 Nice, transferred to France, 408-10.  
 Nicolas II., pope, work, 69-71.  
 Nile, battle of, 371.  
 Nimeguen, Treaty of, 315.  
*Nina*, with Columbus, 202, 203, 205.  
 Normans, gain Rouen, 41; the Cotentin, 43; struggle to establish themselves in France, 43-57; conquests in Italy, 66-7; relations with Papacy, 73, 82, 117.  
 North German Confederation, formation, 438-9; attitude to southern states, 441-2.  
 Novara, first battle of, 394; second battle of, 403.  
 Nürnberg, Diet, 157; peace of, 238; siege of, 294.
- ODILO, founder of Clugny, 63.  
 Offa, connection with Charlemagne, 28.  
 Ojeda, in Hispaniola, 207, 208; with Vespucci, 210.  
 Olmütz, Congress of, 430.  
 Osmond, tutor to Richard the Fearless, 46, 50.  
 Otto I., opposes Normans, 48-9; emperor, 58-9; wars, 60.  
 — IV., Bouvines, 103-4; watched by Philip Augustus, 108; elected emperor by pope, 118; adopts Hohenstaufen policy, 120.  
 Oxenstyerna, Prussian marriage, 281; on Gustavus' commercial policy, 286; on his idea of defending Sweden, 287; in South Germany, 295; League of Heilbronn, 298-301.
- PADERBORN, in Saxon campaigns, 19, 24, 29.  
 Palos, Columbus' starting-point, 202; Columbus returns to, 206.  
 Paoli, idol of Napoleon, 362; quarrels with Napoleon, 314-5.  
 Papacy, foundation, 5-6; alliance with Franks, 8, 13; relation to Eastern Empire, 10-11; missionary spirit, 13; position in Charlemagne's empire, 36; degradation, 42, 59-60; under Saxon emperors, 60-2; the Hildebrandine position, 66, 69-70, 74, 84; effect of study of law, 90; struggle with Philip Augustus, 104; strength and prestige, 114-17; struggle with Frederic II., 129-43; causes of fall, 145-51; temporal power, 162, 165-6; beginning of Reformation, 215-6; early attitude to Luther, 227-31; Counter Reformation, 245-7; struggle with Louis XIV., 318; Concordat with Napoleon, 375-6; struggle with Piedmont, 404-5; refuses to recognise Italian kingdom, 413; struggle with Kulturkampf, 443-4.  
 Pappenheim, storm of Magdeburg, 291; Breitenfeldt, 292; Lützen, 295-6.  
 Paris, under dukes, 43, 49; beautified by Philip Augustus, 212; Congress of, 407; surrender of, 442.  
 Parlement, opposition to Mazarin, 304; the Fronde, 305-6; loss of power, 325; resists reform, 359.  
 Parliament, growth in thirteenth century, 126, 144.  
 Parma, siege of, 139.  
 — Duke of, in Netherlands, 264; Armada, 267; success in France, 269.  
 Partition of Poland, 348-51.  
 Partition Treaty, between Louis XIV. and William III., 321-2.  
 Paul II., 175.  
 — III., character, and Council of Ratisbon, 239-40; Council of Trent, 246.  
 — IV., dislike of Spain, 253-4.  
 Pavia, siege of, 22-3.  
 Pazzi, plot against Medici, 178-9.  
 Peasant Rising, Luther's attitude to, 235.  
 Penance, Doctrine of, Luther finds unsatisfactory, 223; Roman doctrine of, 226.  
 Perez, betrays Philip, 268; proposed murder, 271.  
 Persano, Admiral, Cavour's orders to, 411.  
 Peter Damiani, on Hildebrand, 84.  
 Peter de Vinea, administrative work, 125-6; death, 139-40.  
 Peter the Hermit, preaches crusade, 87.  
 Petrarch, meeting with Charles IV., 158; his school of thought, 167-8; copied by Lorenzo de' Medici, 187.



- Philip, emperor, marriage, 117; elected emperor, 118; assassinated, 120.
- Augustus, birth, 92; marriage, 93; under influence of Henry II., 94; conspires with Henry's sons, 95-6; on crusade, 97-8; war against Richard, 99-100; success against John, 100-2; Bouvines, 103-4; divorce struggle, 104-6; Albigensian crusade, 107-8; papal offer of England to his son, 109-10; his character and work, 109-14; his successors, 147-8.
- VI. of France, starts Hundred Years' War, 148.
- II. of Spain, education, 249; early marriage, 249; tour of dominions, 250-1; marriage to Mary Tudor, 251-2; succeeds his father, 253; his difficulties, 254-5; hatred of heresy, 256; relation to England and France, 257; troubles in Mediterranean, 257-8; the Moriscoes, 258-9; Lepanto, 260; don Carlos, 260-1; struggle in Netherlands, 261-4; annexation of Portugal, 265; the Armada, 266-7; flight of Perez, 268; campaign against France, 269; death, 270; character and work, 271-3; education compared with that of Gustavus Adolphus, 277.
- V. of Spain, his claim, 321-2; War of Spanish Succession, 323-4.
- of Alsace, struggles with Philip Augustus, 93-5; death, 98.
- of Hesse Cassel, converted by Luther, 234; attempts to conciliate Lutherans and Zwinglians, 236; bigamous marriage, 242.
- Piedmont, war against Revolution, 367; annexed by France, 377; restored to Savoy, 393; struggle for liberty, 394-401; struggle with Austria, 401-4; success under Cavour, 404-13.
- Pillnitz, Treaty of, 361.
- Pinta*, with Columbus, 202-3, 205-6.
- Pinzon, with Columbus, 202, 205.
- Pippin of Landen, importance, 8.
- king, receives crown of Franks, 9.
- Pitt, death, 381.
- Pitti, Lucca, leader of Mountain, 173; makes peace with Medici, 175.
- Pius IV., struggle with Philip II., 255-6.
- IX., his opportunity, 399-400; at Gaeta, 403; struggle with Bismarck, 444.
- Poland, relation to Sweden, 275; campaign of Gustavus Adolphus, 283-4; Polish Succession War, 331; partition of, 348-51; Grand Duchy of, 381; Napoleon's policy to, 383-4; serfdom in, 389; repartitioned, 391; struggle with Russia, 435.
- Politian, tutor of Lorenzo's children, 186.
- Pompadour, Madame de, hatred of Frederic the Great, 342.
- Porto Santo, Columbus at, 196-7.
- Portugal, Moors driven out, 147; age of discovery, 192, 198, 200; Pope Martin's grant, 206; India, 211; annexed by Philip II., 265; refuses to join Continental System, 382.
- Posidonius of Rhodes, geographical work, 198.
- Potato War, 351.
- Pragmatic Sanction, 330.
- Prague, under Charles IV., 153-4; siege of, 344; Peace of, 438.
- Pressburg, Peace of, 380.
- Printing, discovery of, 169-70.
- Prim, seeks king for Spain, 439-80.
- Protestants, origin of, 236-7.
- Prussia, cp. Brandenburg, early history, 331-2; under Frederic William II., 332; under Frederic the Great, 332-57; attitude to the French Revolution, 361; causes leading to Tilsit, 379-81; War of Liberation, 384-5; Quadruple Alliance, 391; after Congress of Vienna, 420-1; reaction, 422; Customs Union, 423; revolution of 1845-9, 428-30; Olmütz, 431; rapprochement with Austria, 432-3; Schleswig-Holstein, 435-7; Seven Weeks' War, 437-8; Franco-Prussian War, 439-42; the German Empire, 443.
- Ptolemy, his cosmographies, 191, 193.
- Public Safety, Committee of, organises Terror, 361; sends troops to Toulon, 365; power inherited by consuls, 373.

- QUADRILATERAL, the, held by Radetzky, 402; Napoleon III. afraid to attack, 409.
- Quadruple Alliance, formation, 391.
- RADETSKY, holds Quadrilateral, 402.
- Ratisbon, Catholic League formed at, 234; attempted compromise on religion, 239-40; Truce of, 318; five days' fighting, 383.
- Raymond VI. of Toulouse, Albigensian crusade, 107-8.
- Reformation, foreshadowed by Frederick II., 139; influence of Renaissance, 189; Wycliffe and Huss, 215-6; General Councils, 216; causes in Germany, 217-8; Luther's influence on, 218-24; Counter Reformation, 245-7; Netherlands, 261-4; situation in seventeenth century, 274; Ferdinand II., 280; Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 317.
- Rehbock, pretender to Brandenburg, 151-3.
- Reichstag, parties in, 444; constitution, 448-9.
- Renaissance, causes of, 164, 167; lines of development, 168-70; Lorenzo de' Medici typifies, 187-8; consequence on religion, 216.
- Rense, declaration of, 149.
- Requesens, Don Louis de, in Netherlands, 263.
- Revolution, the French, causes, 358-61; growth of violence, 361; the turning point, 366; Napoleon and, 375, 386; country tired of, 378; the peasantry and, 387; popular in Italy, 392; Revolution of 1848, 428.
- Riario conspiracy, 178-9.
- Richard I. of England, conspires against his father, 96; on crusade, 97-8; struggle in France, 99-100.
- of Aversa, granted Capua, 70.
- the Fearless becomes duke, 44; in custody of Frankish king, 45-7; affianced to Emma, 48; alliance with Duke Hugh, 48-9; gallantry at Rouen, 49; policy, 50-1; upholds Capet against Lothaire, 51; calls in Danes, 52-3; civilised Normandy, 54; work and its result, 54-7.
- Richelieu, peace of Stolbova, 285-6; dismissal of Wallenstein, 288; treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, 290; fails to detach Bavaria, 293; his policy, 302-3; success of his schemes, 358.
- Rienzi, Cola di, flies to Charles IV., 155; Tribune of Rome, 166.
- Risorgimento*, its influence, 399-400; articles by Cavour, 401-2.
- Rivoli, battle of, 367.
- Robert Guiscard arrives in Italy, 67; gains Calabria and Apulia, 70; threatens Benevento, 73; helps pope, 78, 82; attacks eastern empire, 88.
- Roger of Hauteville, conquers Calabria, 70.
- Rollo, gains Rouen, 41.
- Roman Empire, remains of, 1; causes of fall, 2-4; restored by Charlemagne, 31-2; doctrine, 58; struggle with Papacy, 115; addition of 'Holy' to title, 116; Frederick II., 141-2; position on his death, 145; regulated by Golden Bull, 156-8; result of Charles IV.'s policy, 164-5; Maximilian reforms, 218; Gustavus Adolphus' plan, 298; effect of Partition of Poland, 350; end of Holy Roman Empire, 379; the Germanic Confederation, 391.
- Rome, capital removed from, 3; captured by Alaric, 4; visited by Constans, 12; Charlemagne, 22-3; Charlemagne's crowning, 30-1; Luther at, 224-5; Italian occupation, 414.
- Romulus Augustulus, last Emperor of the West, 4.
- Roncesvalles, battle of, 25.
- Roon, Albert von, early friendship with Bismarck, 427; army reforms, 433-4; Ems telegram, 440-1.
- Rosbach, battle of, 344-5; effect on France, 358.
- Rouen under the Normans, 43, 45, 99.
- Rousseau, popularity, 359; influence on Napoleon, 363.
- Rudolf of Hapsburg, chosen by electors, 145; dynastic policy 148-9.
- of Swabia, elected in opposition to Henry VI., 80-1.
- Russia, struggle with Sweden, 276,

- 279; gradual expansion, 330; state of, in eighteenth century, 337; the Seven Years' War, 342-7; Partition of Poland, 348-50; attitude to French Revolution, 372; League of the North, 374; Austerlitz to Tilsit, 379-81; campaign of 1812, 384; Quadruple Alliance, 391; origin of Prussian Alliance, 432-5; Three-Empire-League and Dual Alliance, 443.
- Ryswick, Peace of, 320.
- SADOWA, cp. Königgrätz.
- St. Augustine, neglected by Augustinians, 222; studied by Luther, 223, 225.
- St. Bernard, work, 89.
- St. Denis, crowning of Pippin, 13, 16.
- St. Dominic, in Toulouse, 107; accepted by Church, 215.
- St. Francis, accepted by Church, 215.
- St. Helena, Napoleon at, 385-6.
- St. Quentin, battle of, 254.
- Saladin, capture of Jerusalem, 90, 95.
- Salimbene, or Frederic II., 140, 143.
- Salisbury, Earl of, defeats French fleet, 103; at Bouvines, 104.
- Salviati, Archbishop, Riario conspiracy, 178-80.
- San Germano, Treaty of, 131-2.
- Marco, Medicean foundation, 185; Savonarola, 189.
- Santa Cruz, advice about Armada, 266-7.
- Maria, Columbus' flagship, 202, 205.
- Rossa, politics, 400, 404.
- Saragossa, Charlemagne at, 25.
- Sardinia, cp. Piedmont.
- Sea, discovered by Carthaginians, 193; reached by Columbus, 203.
- Savonarola, attitude to Lorenzo de' Medici, 187-8.
- Saxony, conquered by Charlemagne, 18-21; usurpation of *jus episcopale*, 217; leads Protestants, 287; refuses to join Gustavus Adolphus, 289; War of Austrian Succession, 338-40; intrigues against Prussia, 342-3; Seven Years' War, 343-7.
- Schérer, report on Napoleon, 366.
- Schleswig-Holstein, war, 436-7.
- Schmalkaldic League, formation of, 237; defeat at Mühlberg, 246.
- Sedan, battle of, 441.
- Septimannia, kingdom of, 14.
- Seven Years' War, operations, 342-8; effect on France, 358.
- Sforza, Francesco, reign, 172-9.
- Siccardi Laws, 404, 414.
- Sicilian questions, Frederic II., 132.
- Sicily, granted to Normans, 70; Tancred usurps, 97; under Frederic II., 117-124; Sicilian Vespers, 146; Garibaldi's expedition, 410-1.
- Sieyès, plots, 372.
- Sigismund, emperor, granted Brandenburg, 163-4; grants it to Hohenzollerns, 331.
- of Poland, becomes king, 275; attempts to return to Sweden, 276; struggle with Gustavus Adolphus, 279-80, 283.
- Silesia, history of capture by Frederic, 337-8, 340.
- Sixtus IV., schemes opposed by Lorenzo de' Medici, 177-80.
- Skytte, tutor of Gustavus Adolphus, 276.
- Smith, Sir Sidney, opposes Napoleon, 371-2.
- Socialists, Bismarck's struggle with, 444-5.
- Solferino, battle of, 408.
- Spain, invaded by Moors, 9-14; distribution at time of Charlemagne, 14; Charlemagne's campaigns, 25; reconquest, 147; Columbus escapes to, 200; colonial possessions by Martin V.'s bull, 206; under Philip II., 248-73; Thirty Years' War, 281; Peace of Westphalia, 307; Treaty of Ratisbon, 318; Partition Treaties, 321-3; attitude to France at Revolution, 381; resistance to Napoleon, 382, 389; Revolution of 1820, 393; Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen question, 439-40.
- Spalatin, friend of Luther, 228.
- Spanish fury, at Antwerp, 236.
- States-General, meeting of, 360.
- Staupitz, influence over Luther, 223; sends Luther to Rome, 224-5.
- Stephen II., crowns Frankish kings, 13-14, 16.
- IX., work, 68.
- Stockholm, Bloody Battle of, 275.
- Stolbova, Peace of, 278-9.
- Stuhmsdorf, Treaty of, 280.

- Suntal, battle of, 20.  
 Sutri, synod of, 62.  
 Sylvester I., pope, donation of the West, 5.  
 — II., pope, work, 60.  
 — III., pope, work, 61.  
 Sweden, early history, 274-6; under Gustavus Adolphus, 276-98; Triple Alliance, 312; struggle with Russia, 330-1; Seven Years' War, 342-4; Congress of Vienna, 391.
- TALLEYRAND, plots against Napoleon, 383; doctrine of legitimacy, 392.  
 Tancred, Norman usurper in Italy, 97.  
 Tassilo, revolt against Charlemagne, 26-7.  
 Tchernaya, battle of, 407.  
 Tetzel, sale of indulgences, 226-7.  
 Teutonic Order, upholds Frederic II., 129; connection with Prussia, 331.  
 Thaddaeus of Suessa, advocate for Frederic II. at Lyons, 137-8; death, 139.  
 Theodora, mother of popes, 59.  
 Thiers, peace negotiations, 442.  
 Thirty Years' War, origin, 280; early years, 284-5; Gustavus Adolphus, 287-97; new phase, 301; Westphalia, 305.  
 Tilly, general of the League, 383; at Lutter, 285; character, 287-8; Magdeburg, 290-1; Breitenfeldt, 291-2; death, 294.  
 Tilsit, peace of, 381.  
 Tippoo Sahib, intrigues with French, 370.  
 Toscanelli, hypothesis, 198; correspondence with Columbus, 199-200.  
 Toulon, siege of, 365.  
 Tournai, claim to, 103.  
 Trent, Council of, 246-7.  
 Tribur, battle of, 78.  
 Triple Alliance of 1668, 313; of 1883, 443.  
 Tugendbund, work of society, 384-5.  
 Turenne, general, 304; Nordlingen, 305; joins court, 306; victory over Spaniards, 307; in War of Devolution, 312; in Dutch war, 314-5.
- Turgot, attempted reforms, 358.  
 Turin, Treaty of, 410.  
 Turks occupy Otranto, 182; capture of Constantinople, 193; Russian designs on, 349; opposition to Napoleon, 311-2; Treaty of Berlin, 443.  
 Tusculum, Counts of, overawe Papacy, 42, 59, 68.
- ULM, capitulation, 381.  
 Urban II., pope, preaches crusade, 88-9.  
 — IV., pope, offers empire to Charles of Anjou, 146.  
 — V., pope, refuses to live at Rome, 161-2.  
 — VI., at Avignon, 162.  
 Utrecht, Treaty of, 323-4, 330.
- VALLADOLID, Philip II. at, 256.  
 Valmy, battle of, 361.  
 Vasa, Gustavus, his work in Sweden, 275-6.  
 Vauban, fortifications, 313, 315; description of France, 324.  
 Venezuela, discovery, 209.  
 Venice, rivalry with Milan, 165; hatred of Florence, 174; danger to Italy, 182; arrangement with Turks, 193; given to Austria, 370, 393; Zürich, 409; Italian occupation, 414; in Seven Weeks' War, 437-8.  
 Verdun, Partition of, 40.  
 Versailles, built by Louis XIV., 311, 316, 321; Treaty of, 359; meeting of states-general, 360.  
 Vespucci, Amerigo, names America, 210.  
 Vexin, struggle for, 95, 99.  
 Victor II., pope, death, 68.  
 — Emmanuel I., restoration, 393; resignation, 394.  
 — — II., succeeds to throne, 403; offered dictatorship of duchies, 409; signs decree of union, 410; meeting with Garibaldi in Naples, 412; appreciation of, 418.  
 Vienna, Treaty of, 383; Congress of, 385, 391, 393; effect on Germany, 419.  
 Villafranca, armistice of, 409.  
 Visconti, seize Bologna, 161; death of last, 172.

- WAGRAM, battle of, 383-4.  
 Wallenstein, general, 283; advances to Baltic, 285; character and disposition, 258; recalled, 293; opposed to Gustavus Adolphus, 294-6.  
 Wallhoff, battle of, 284.  
 Wartburg, festival, 421.  
 Wellington, in Spain, 383-4; attempted murder, 392.  
 Wenzel, emperor, 161, 163.  
 Westphalia, kingdom of, 381; Treaty of, 305, 307, 352.  
 Widukind, Saxon leader, 19-20.  
 William of Orange, defeated by Philip II., 253; struggle with Spain, 262-5; proposed murder, 271.  
 — III. of England, saves Amsterdam, 315; invades England, 319; war with France, 320; Partition Treaties, 321-2.  
 — I., German Emperor, first meeting with Bismarck, 425; regent, 432-3; proposed abdication, 434-5; Franco-Prussian War, 440-2; proclamation at Versailles, 442; attempted murder, 444; death, 446.  
 — II., German Emperor, struggle with Bismarck, 446.  
 William of the Iron Arm, in Apulia, 67.  
 — Longsword, death, 43.  
 Wittelsbachs, cp. Bavaria.  
 Worms, Placitum of, 40; Concordat of, 114; Luther at, 231-2.  
 Wycliffe, foreshadows Reformation, 215-6; Luther's advantage over, 241.  
 YOLAND, wife of Frederic II., 127, 131.  
 Yussuf-el-Fekir, Abbasside ruler of Spain, 24.  
 ZACHARIAS, pope, grants crown to Pippin, 8.  
 Zedlitz, struggle with Frederic the Great, 235-6.  
 Zeno, emperor, sole emperor, 4.  
 Zollverein, cp. Customs Union.  
 Zürich, battle of, 372; Congress of, 409.  
 Zweibrücken, Duke of, opposition to schemes of Joseph II., 351-2.  
 Zwickau, home of anabaptists, 232.  
 Zwinglians, quarrel between Zwingli and Luther, 236-7.



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